

# AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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## Contents

L. L. Bernard: Sociological Theorist (1881-1951).....	READ BAIN	285
Morale: Certain Theoretical Implications of Data in <i>The American Soldier</i> .....	HENRY ZENTNER	297
Comment.....	HERBERT BLUMER	308
Rejoinder.....	HENRY ZENTNER	309
Misunderstandings in International Relations....	GUSTAV ICHHEISER	311
Los Angeles Rooming-House Kaleidoscope.....	LILLIAN COHEN	316
Romantic Love.....	HUGO G. BEIGEL	326
Dating Theories and Student Responses..	SAMUEL HARMAN LOWRIE	334
Adolescent-Parent Adjustment—Socio-Economic Level as a Variable.....	IVAN NYE	341
Some Problems of Laboratory Experiments with Small Populations.....	G. E. SWANSON	349
Death by Dieselization: A Case Study in the Reaction to Technological Change.....	W. F. COTTRELL	358

## NOTES ON RESEARCH AND TEACHING

Some Changes in Courtship Behavior in Three Generations of Ohio Women.....	MARVIN R. KOLLER	366
Mental Ability and Cultural Needs: A Psychocultural Interpretation of the Intelligence Test Performance of Ceylon University Entrants.....	MURRAY A. STRAUS	371
Evidences of Disparity Between the Hindu Practice of Caste and the Ideal Type.....	EDWARD W. POHLMAN	375
Factors in the Personal Adjustment of Old People in Protestant Homes For The Aged.....	JU-SHU PAN	379

## COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINION

Reply to Bierstedt's Review of <i>Hollywood, The Dream Factory</i> .....	HORTENSE POWDERMAKER	382
Comment on Federighi's "The Use of Chi-Square in Small Samples".....	ROBERT E. CLARK	383
A Reply.....	ENRICO T. FEDERIGHI	383
Comment on "Learning Theory and Socialization" by Dorrian Apple.....	JOHN GILLIN	384
Rejoinder.....	DORRIAN APPLE	384
On Resolutions by the Society.....	GEORGE A. LUNDBERG	384

## OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

Constitution of the American Sociological Society.....	386
Joint Session with the National Council for the Social Studies....	392
Preliminary Program—1951 Annual Meeting.....	392

## NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

### BOOK REVIEWS

Cantril and Strunk: <i>Public Opinion, 1935-1946</i> . Daniel Lerner....	402
Lewin and Cartwright: <i>Field Theory in Social Science</i> . Daniel O. Price.....	404
Mauss: <i>Sociologie et Anthropologie</i> . C. W. M. Hart.....	405
Wootton: <i>Testament for Social Science</i> . James G. Leyburn.....	406

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Purcell: <i>The Chinese in Southeast Asia</i> . Richard J. Coughlin.....	407
Levy: <i>The Family Revolution in Modern China</i> . Maurice T. Price..	408
Teng: <i>New Light on the History of the Taiping Rebellion</i> . Shu-Ching Lee.....	409
Osgood: <i>The Koreans and Their Culture</i> . John C. Pelzel.....	410
Meade: <i>American Military Government in Korea</i> . Theodore K. Noss	411
Oliver: <i>The Pacific Islands</i> . Stephen W. Reed.....	411
Erikson: <i>Childhood and Society</i> . Beatrice Blyth Whiting.....	413
Dollard and Miller: <i>Personality and Psychotherapy</i> . Neal Gross...	414
Gouldner: <i>Studies in Leadership</i> . Lyford P. Edwards.....	416
Hafiter: <i>Kinder aus geschiedenen Ehen</i> . Erna Barschak.....	416
Bossard and Boll: <i>Ritual in Family Living</i> . John Sirjamaki.....	417
Andrews: <i>Philanthropic Giving</i> . Maurice R. Davie.....	418
Merton and Lazarsfeld: <i>Continuities in Social Research</i> . Oliver C. Cox	419
Miller and Form: <i>Industrial Sociology</i> . Donald E. Wray.....	420
Mosk: <i>Industrial Revolution in Mexico</i> . N. L. Whetten.....	421
Marshall: <i>Citizenship and Social Class</i> . Seymour Fiddle.....	422
Lipset: <i>Agrarian Socialism</i> . S. D. Clark.....	423
Lasswell, Merriam, and Smith: <i>A Study of Power</i> . John Useem....	424
UNESCO: <i>Democracy in a World of Tensions</i> . Joseph S. Roucek..	425
Dunn: <i>War and the Minds of Men</i> . Joseph S. Roucek.....	425
Ogle: <i>Public Opinion and Political Dynamics</i> . Joseph S. Roucek...	425
Stauffer: <i>La méthode relationnelle en psychologie sociale et en sociologie selon M. Léopold von Wiese</i> . Arnold M. Rose.....	426
Sargent: <i>Social Psychology</i> . Joseph H. Bunzel.....	427
Wilson: <i>My Six Convicts</i> . Alfred R. Lindesmith.....	427
Ungern-Sternberg and Schubnell: <i>Grundriss der Bevölkerungswissenschaft</i> . Christopher Tietze.....	428
Greenberg: <i>Numerical Sex Disproportion</i> . Albert Pierce.....	429
Gillen: <i>The Distribution of Occupations as a City Yardstick</i> . Paul K. Hatt.....	430

### BOOK NOTES

Fairchild: <i>The Prodigal Century</i> . Erwin O. Smigel.....	431
American Philosophical Society: <i>Problems of Development of Densely Settled Areas</i> . S. W. Reed.....	431
Skinner: <i>Report on the Chinese in Southeast Asia</i> . Richard J. Coughlin.....	431
James: <i>Latin America</i> (Revised Edition). N. L. Whetten.....	432
Brownell: <i>The Human Community</i> . Jerome K. Myers.....	432
Runes: <i>The Hebrew Impact on Western Civilization</i> . Marshall Sklare.....	432
Ginzberg: <i>Agenda for American Jews</i> . Marshall Sklare.....	433
Mukerjee: <i>The Social Function of Art</i> . Joseph H. Bunzel.....	433
Silberman and Spice: <i>Colour and Class in Six Liverpool Schools</i> . Oliver C. Cox..	434
Scott: <i>Joint Consultation in a Liverpool Manufacturing Firm</i> . John S. Ellsworth, Jr.....	434
Dale: <i>Greater Productivity through Labor-Management Cooperation</i> . John S. Ellsworth, Jr.....	434
Hoover and Ratchford: <i>Economic Resources and Policies of the South</i> . Otis Dudley Duncan.....	434
Ellis: <i>The Folklore of Sex</i> . John Sirjamaki.....	435
Ebersole: <i>Church Lobbying in the Nation's Capital</i> . Lewis Troyer.....	435
Clark: <i>The Oxford Group</i> . Allan W. Elster.....	435
Hodges: <i>Social Work Yearbook: 1951</i> . Charles G. Chakerian.....	436
National Conference of Social Work: <i>The Social Welfare Forum: 1950</i> . Charles G. Chakerian.....	436
National Conference of Social Work: <i>Social Work in the Current Scene</i> . Charles G. Chakerian.....	436

### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

(Articles in the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW are indexed in the International Index to Periodicals and in the Weekly Bulletin of Public Affairs Information Service.)



407  
408  
409  
410  
411  
411  
413  
414  
416  
416  
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419  
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# American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

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## L. L. BERNARD: SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIST (1881-1951)

READ BAIN

*Miami University, Oxford, Ohio*

EVERYONE who knew him was shocked to learn that L. L. Bernard died on January 23, 1951, at his home in State College, Pennsylvania. He continued to teach well into November although he was very ill and in constant pain. Early in December an exploratory operation revealed a cancerous condition for which nothing could be done. Had he lived until October 29 he would have completed his seventieth year.

He had so much vitality and lived such a temperate, though zestful life, it is difficult to realize he is gone. L. L. Bernard is a name known to sociologists and social scientists all over the world; "LLB" was known and admired by hundreds of friends, students, and colleagues all over the United States. Although he had almost a half century of solid scholarship behind him, as the appended bibliography shows, we all expected he also had many productive years ahead. Perhaps it is improper to speak of "untimely death" when one has reached the Biblical age, especially when he has lived a full and richly creative life, has been honored at home and abroad, and has left a substantial body of work of high quality, but when the man is L. L. Bernard, death at seventy seems untimely.

It is difficult to appraise a man's work justly even after time and the trends in his specialty give adequate historical perspective; it is almost impossible to do it while

the man is still alive or only recently dead. A man's place in history depends upon how long and how much his contributions stimulate the minds of men engaged in similar work. This in turn depends upon what I have elsewhere called the "cultural drift." If a man lives long and produces a substantial body of work, his chances for "fame" doubtless are better than those of a man who has a small output and a short life. There are exceptions to this; some men live long and produce little but still are well remembered. Most men, perhaps, are best remembered for one or two books and often for one or two ideas.

Cooley and G. H. Mead were small-quantity and high-quality men who lived fairly long. Their fame seems secure. Giddings and Sumner were very productive but are likely to be remembered mainly for one book each—and, in passing, *not* for the books *they* thought were most important. Adam Smith thought *The Theory of the Moral Sentiments* was his master work, *The Wealth of Nations* being a sort of extended footnote to it, as *Folkways* was to the *Science of Society*. Ward lived long, produced four or five major works and hundreds of scientific papers of high quality but thought *Psychic Factors* was his greatest work. Scientists frequently are as poor judges of their own work as artists are. Time, the course of culture, and especially the trends of science

determine how a man will fare in the long future.

One objective way to estimate the importance of a man to his contemporaries is to count the references to his work in scholarly journals and those texts and multitudinous books "made from other books." Bernard would get a good rating by such a test. Since it is well known that men tend to cite their friends and associates, this test could be made more objective by excluding citations from a man's own graduate students and staff colleagues. One could also see how much he is cited by scholars in other lands and what use is made of his work fifty years after his death. It seems likely Bernard would rate high by all these tests and will long occupy a prominent place in the history of American sociology.

About twenty years ago, I predicted Cooley would "wear better" than any of his great contemporaries with the exception of Ward. Favorable reference to his work by people who never knew him (he had few graduate students) continues unabated and seems to be increasing. A count might show more references to Cooley in 1950 than to all other men born before 1870 if Sumner and Thomas were excluded. Bernard's competition with his contemporaries born before 1900 will be much more severe because there are so many more of them and they are so much better trained, but Bernard probably will loom large among American sociologists born in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The volume and quality of his work and the "cultural drift" seem to assure this.

Though he, like Cooley, was never a long-term staff member of a university that "turned out" great numbers of graduate students, he, unlike Cooley, taught in several such universities in summer sessions and on short appointments. Thus, he came in contact with many students who "took their degrees" under other men. Many such men testify that they were greatly influenced by Professor Bernard. Among these (a very incomplete list which does not include any of the younger men who are yet to be heard from), I can mention Lee Brooks, Jessie

Bernard, Otis Duncan, Charles Hoffer, Charles Lively, George Lundberg, John Markey (one of the most "promising young men" twenty-five years ago), Paul Meadows, Bruce Melvin, Harold Phelps, Samuel Stouffer, Rupert Vance, George Vold, and Carle Zimmerman. Many others who were not students of Bernard were, like myself, much influenced by his writings.

It is worth noting that most of these people are active in empirical research and are unequivocal advocates of the natural science approach to sociology. This concept, emphasized in all his writing and teaching, is perhaps Bernard's greatest contribution. I do not imply that other men, and Thomas and Park and Ward before them, were not devoted to the same idea, but there were many men of Bernard's generation who were temporizing, pussy-footing, and indulging in devious metaphysical rationalizations about the mind-body problem and were taking a "safe" position with reference to the possible existence of supernatural "powers" and "modes" and "essences" and "entities" and "grounds," and other varieties of similar verbal nonsense. In the midst of this, Bernard was forthrightly denouncing the whole anti-scientific, medieval-minded approach to the study of social phenomena. He was asking for facts—to be found, processed, and interpreted in the same general way by the same general methods which had built the physical and biological sciences.

This battle is over for most American sociologists under the age of forty, and for most men over fifty who did not enter the chaste house of sociology through the backdoor of theology. The battle was hot in 1911 when Bernard published *The Transition to an Objective Standard of Social Control*. It was still hot in 1927 when I read my first paper before the American Sociological Society. It was still warm in 1938 when the American Catholic Sociological Society was founded. There are a few dying embers left in 1951 but it seems fairly safe to say this great ideological battle is over if science as we know it can continue in a world threatened by totalitarianisms and other absolutisms of the Left and Right.

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Another of Bernard's central concepts also was contained in this first publication and was developed throughout the remainder of his professional career. It is the idea that "social control is the logical end of all social science." In this, Bernard was at one with scientists in all fields who think the purpose of science is its application for human welfare and that morality cannot exist except as it is based upon some concept of causality. This view was clearly stated in one of his finest essays: "It is only in a causal world that there can be morality."<sup>1</sup> This view was also expressed in 1911, "Under [the ideas he has been advancing], sociology and social policy cease to be confusions of more or less unrelated problems, many of which conflict in their solutions."<sup>2</sup> Hayes had criticized this essay on the ground that it made the group the absolute standard and left the individual no liberty.<sup>3</sup> Hayes did less than justice to Bernard who certainly was not one to advocate the destruction of individual freedom. What bothered Hayes, apparently, perhaps a reflection of the heat referred to above, was Bernard's position that myths, magic, theology, and metaphysical substitutes for them must be supplanted by science as a sanction for morality and as a goal for action. Hayes still seemed to be in bondage to the Spencerian myth that the "individual" and "society" are in eternal conflict. Bernard merely meant that all sciences must merge, or at least reinforce each other, as man's best means of rationally defining goals and effecting controls. He saw clearly, having read Cooley, that individual and group are reciprocals and that group survival is as necessary for individuals as individuals are for groups. It is amazing that a man like Hayes should have been confused on this point or that he could think Bernard was advocating any kind of absolutism or adher-

ing to any single-factor conception of social organization.

Another idea in *The Transition*, thoroughly approved by Hayes, was the attack on the old idea of "forces" and "motives" conceived as "instincts." As a result of having the Amherst Memorial Fellowship (granted for 1921-1922 but used the following year), Bernard was able to publish *Instinct* in 1924. In a sense this was the culmination of fifteen years' study. Its germ is in *The Transition* and had been developed to some extent in other writing, but the fellowship made it possible to do a definitive and devastating study. The loose use of instinct has been much more difficult since 1924; though many people still manage to use it loosely, they are more likely to say "drive" or "innate predisposition" or to use some other surrogate.

*Instinct* is probably one of Bernard's best bids for fame. It is one of those "definitive" works, like Goring's on Lombroso or Hankins' on racialism, which leave little more to be said. It is likely few people can mention instinct in relation to social phenomena in the future without referring to Bernard's monograph. It sounded the final doom of all "social instinct" theories—including such metaphysical versions of them as the writing of MacDougall—which had been bothering Bernard since 1908. It seems unbelievable now that anyone ever could have taken MacDougall seriously, and that he could be so nearly forgotten so soon after having been so famous for so long. *Instinct* is part of the answer.

This book was so devastating to the view that *any* social behavior can be directly attributed to instinct that it probably stimulated many uncritical minds to go to the opposite and equally unsound extreme, viz., "that there are no innate, hereditary, biological differences between individuals and races—all differences are determined by cultural conditioning." This new naive "cultural determinism" is as silly as the old naive instinct theories and other forms of biological determinism. Certainly no one can find any basis for such cultural determinism in any of Bernard's work—quite the opposite.

<sup>1</sup> L. L. Bernard, "The Objective Viewpoint in Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, Nov. 1919, pp. 298-320 (p. 319 quoted).

<sup>2</sup> L. L. Bernard, "The Transition to an Objective Standard of Social Control," *American Journal of Sociology*, January 1911, p. 535.

<sup>3</sup> E. C. Hayes, review of *The Transition*, etc., in *American Journal of Sociology*, May 1912, pp. 852-853.

Bernard's *Introduction to Social Psychology* appeared in 1926, an original treatise as well as a first-rate text. Perhaps he felt some moral need to fill the gap left after *Instinct* had destroyed the foundations of MacDougall's *Social Psychology*, which had almost monopolized the field since 1908. Bernard's book has one of the most complete bibliographies of the field up to that date. It, too, was the culmination of many years of preparation, and much of its content is still as sound as it was twenty-five years ago. I know no better discussion of the environmental bases of behavior, conditions of suggestibility, derivative groups and attitudes, and especially, the nonrational factors in social control.

It is probable that the best or at least the most original part of this book was never published. Bernard attempted to work out an objective terminology for what are now generally called "mechanisms of personality" or "personality structures." The only terms he had at hand were such loose concepts as Cooley's "sympathetic introspection," Lipps' "*Einfühlung*," and Mead's self and other schema. What he wanted and tried to construct was a systematic set of terms to describe all aspects of socialization in a conditioned response framework.<sup>4</sup> If it is at all possible, this manuscript should be published in the interest of a complete history of social psychology.

Both sociology and social psychology are still in need of a systematized vocabulary of terms the referents of which are observable social behavior. We still use many words which refer to inferred behavior and imagined structures. Inference and imagination are necessary in all science but they should be factually based on tested empirical research. It was just such terms, derived from empirical research and useful for it, which Bernard was seeking, and which are still lacking to an appalling degree. We still delude ourselves with verbalisms. What does "internalization" say that is not said by "learn"? What is the referent of "projection"? Who "projects" what, and how does

he do it? "Attitudes" are still largely words indicating faith in the substance of things not seen, sensed, or reasonably inferred from any science-based sensory experience. "Drive" is often a cheap substitute for "instinct" used by "modern" scholars. Bernard sought to rescue social psychology from this reliance on word-magic. His book was the first, or one of the first, to dispense entirely with "social instincts" and to attempt to make neuro-muscular behavior the referent of the terms used—a noble effort to put new wine in those old bottles—many of which are still around—filled with old wine.

His third major work was *Social Control in Its Sociological Aspects*, 1939. It is a systematic treatise as well as an excellent textbook. It goes far beyond Ross' *Foundations of Social Control*, which is still one of the best books in this field if one overlooks the instinct-theory upon which it is based. Bernard's book presents a great deal of empirical data and is really a source book as well as a text and treatise. In a sense this is Bernard's master work since it is his systematic treatment of what he had designated in *The Transition* as the basic problem for sociology. It took him nearly thirty years of hard work and hard thinking to prepare his answer to the Big Problem. It should be a good book—and it is—though the Big Problem is still unsolved.

*The Introduction to Sociology*, 1942, is more nearly a treatise than is the case with most first course texts, but it is also a clearly written text covering what is commonly called the field of sociology. It was one of the first texts to use illustrations and they are still among the most interesting ones I have seen. In some sense, the book summarizes Bernard's thirty years of research and publication, thus reversing what has come to be quite common—that men write textbooks at the beginning of their careers. It gives a systematic treatment of the fourfold factors (physiographic, anthropographic, psychographic, and sociographic) as they affect cultural change. Bernard stresses the culture-conditioning effects of geographic and biological factors more than most introductory text writers do. His dis-

<sup>4</sup> Letter from Jessie Bernard, March 22, 1951.

cussion of the psychographic factor draws heavily on material already developed in *Instinct* and *Social Psychology*. Part VI contains his famous classification of the cultural environments and a brilliant analysis of social control and social change. The long volume is pervaded by the natural science approach to sociology to which his whole scholarly life was devoted.

*The Origins of American Sociology*, 1942 (with Jessie Bernard), is another definitive book in the sense that the treatment of the subject is so complete that there will be neither need nor material for more than an occasional article on the subject in the future. The book is a summation and scholarly distillation of Bernard's lifetime interest in the works of what he called "pre-sociologists." He made an extensive collection of such works all his life. Probably there is no other library in existence comparable to his in this particular field. *The Origins* is an almost pure instance of the "labor of love" of two devoted scholars. It will be valuable to all historians of ideas, students of social movements, and all who are curious about the origin of American sociology.

*War and Its Causes*, 1944, was written during the war. It is a careful and competent book although it is written for the general reader as well as the scholar. It is readable and informative and will doubtless be a standard part of the literature of conflict. While Quincy Wright's two volumes are much more complete so far as the data of war are concerned, Bernard's book is much superior to Wright's in that it has a more systematic sociological orientation.

As the bibliography shows, Bernard was one of the most prolific of contemporary American sociologists in all forms of scholarly production: major treatises, texts, contributed articles in other volumes, book reviews, and essays in scholarly journals. The range of these journal articles is so great that I am incompetent to appraise them even if the press of time permitted reading them again. Many of them are likely to achieve a permanent place in the literature of sociology. A volume of Bernard's essays

would be a valuable handbook for students and scholars for years to come. Such a volume should be made up of essays suggested by a large number of his students and colleagues in order to have maximum usefulness. The following would almost certainly be included: A Theory of Rural Attitudes; Religion and Theology; A Psycho-Sociological Interpretation of Magic; The Objective Viewpoint in Sociology; Neuro-Psychic Technique in Social Evolution; Conditions of Social Progress; Invention and Social Progress; A Classification of Environments; Scientific Methods and Scientific Progress; The Conflict between Primary Group Attitudes and Derivative Group Ideals; A Sociological Interpretation of Religion; The Definition of Definition.

This too brief sketch of Professor Bernard's work may be summed up by indicating several of the main ideas which he stressed throughout his life. Most of them have now become the current coin of sociological exchange. They may seem very obvious to those under thirty who may read this statement, but that is only a testimony to the skill or good fortune with which Bernard sensed the future of sociology in his youth. His views were then contrary to the beliefs of many leading men who were his elder contemporaries. His central ideas now seem obvious because they have prevailed.

1. By viewpoint, method, and purpose, sociology is essentially a natural science.
2. All instinctivist explanations of social behavior are unsound.
3. Culture is the product of interactions of the fourfold environment.
4. Invention and technology are of major importance in cultural change.
5. All social interaction is mediated by the symbolic process.
6. Social control is the basic problem and logical end of sociology and all the social sciences.
7. Supernatural religions, superstitions, magic-mindedness, and their metaphysical surrogates will gradually disappear as sanctions for social behavior and will be replaced by a religion of science and humanity.
8. He had an intense personal hatred of war,



poverty, disease, waste, intellectual dishonesty, and undemocratic behavior.<sup>5</sup>

To account for the sociological theory of a man, it is necessary to know something about his family, his personal characteristics, his teachers, and his social milieu. While this article does not attempt a critical appraisal of Bernard's work or make any serious pretensions at biography, it does seem proper to mention a few things not found in *Who's Who* and to comment briefly on some facts which are barely mentioned there.

L. L. Bernard possessed a complex and many-sided personality. He would make a fascinating and rewarding subject for one skilled in the art of biography. There were many aspects of his nature, overtones and undertones, which were not known to many who regarded themselves as his closest friends. He frequently was misunderstood by his colleagues. It is quite possible that the full story of his life never will be told properly. He was a man about whom anecdotes collected through the years. There is no doubt that some of these do him less than justice. It would require a sensitive and understanding person with all the facts at his disposal properly to evaluate these stories, some of which are doubtless without any real foundation. Bernard apparently did not talk much about his life and experiences even to his "best friends." Consequently, little is known about his early years and not much about his family.

"Bernard" is said to mean "an inhabitant of Berne" but the family somehow got to Ireland from where two brothers came to this country during the French and Indian wars. Somewhere around the middle of the eighteenth century they settled in southeastern Kentucky. About a hundred and twenty-five years later, Hiram Hamilton Bernard was in Russell county, Kentucky, where L. L. Bernard was born in 1881. His eldest brother was born in 1873 and is

<sup>5</sup> I understand Professor Zimmerman has listed Bernard's major concepts in an article on Bernard to appear in the next issue of *Rural Sociology*. I had not seen his list, when this was written nor had he seen mine.

still living. A sister, Cora Lee, and a brother, John Luther, were then born, but both died in the great epidemic of black diphtheria which swept over Kentucky in the late seventies. Luther Lee was born soon after this double tragedy, his name perhaps being mute testimony to the death of the little boy and girl.

The family moved to Texas about 1888 and settled near Gordon, where, a few years later, the boy came in contact with two young teachers who fired his mind with all the excitement of the scientific revolution then going on. It would be interesting to know who these young men were and what became of them. It is likely they were high school science teachers. At any rate, Bernard was ready for college when the family moved to Peirce City, Missouri, near the end of the century. He attended the Baptist College there, receiving a B.S. degree in 1900 and was employed to teach the sciences, 1901-1903. It is not known what he was doing between June 1900 (if he graduated in June) and September 1901 (if that is when the term began). One may surmise he was working on his father's farm since it is known that he worked his way through college by farming some of his father's land to supplement what aid his father could give him. His father seems to have been fairly prosperous, but most young men were expected to "work their way," at least partly, in such semi-pioneer communities.

Apparently he went to the Baptist College because there was no place else to go. There is no record that he or his family ever was Baptist or indeed that he ever had a "religious experience" which was the common lot of most young people in those days. Of course, his "scientific enlightenment" at Gordon under the tutelage of the Two Unknown Teachers was not unlike a religious experience. There are similar stories in the lives of W. H. Hudson and Havelock Ellis. Bernard's father was a "free-thinker"—a very dangerous appellation in those godly days.

Thus it seems clear that LLB's well-known abstemious habits were not the vestigial remains of a "religious" youth.

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During his whole life he would take a drink occasionally when he thought the social amenities required it. He always swore properly when sufficiently provoked. He said he once was addicted to the smoking habit but gave it up at the age of seven when the family moved to Texas.<sup>6</sup>

After teaching two years at the Baptist College, he went to Lamar College for two years, teaching languages. He went to the University of Missouri in 1905 and took an A.B. degree under Ellwood in 1907. That fall, he got a fellowship to Chicago. It is interesting to record that Ellwood inspired him with the ambition to become a sociologist although Bernard's mind and subsequent work were very different from Ellwood's pattern of thought. Bernard's first published paper, "The Teaching of Sociology in the United States," 1909, was an empirical, factual, quantitative study. It also contains statements about the condition and prospects of sociology from about 125 men, many of whom later became leaders in the field. These remarks are still interesting reading. They record the academic birth of sociology—that cuckoo-egg hatched in the nests of the other social sciences. In many schools, that upstart is now more impressive than the department from which it sprang.

At Chicago, Small, Vincent, and Thomas were the great men. To Thomas and Vincent, Bernard was devoted and may have been influenced more by them than by any other teachers, saving, perhaps, the Two from Texas who had given his mind a slant and an impulse which enabled it to develop under its own steam without being unduly influenced by other minds, whether teachers, colleagues, or the great minds whose works he constantly read.

The rest of the record can be read in

<sup>6</sup> The material in the foregoing paragraphs is taken from letters of Jessie Bernard to the writer. In one of them she says, "I think he disapproved of the minor vices because they represented escape . . . [he] hated the philosophy of escape. He also hated the philosophy of self-indulgence. He had to live such an austere life for so long . . . that he built it into a philosophy of life." It was even difficult to get him to take opiates during his last illness, although he was suffering great pain.

*Who's Who* and the appended bibliography—which is the most important part of this paper. It should be noted that Bernard's association with fifteen or twenty widely scattered universities brought him into contact with many graduate students and young teachers who technically were not his own students but who nonetheless were greatly influenced by him. His prolific writing, published in many journals outside as well as in the field of sociology, had the same effect; his membership in many learned societies here, in Europe, Mexico, and South America; his editorial work on *Social Forces*, *Social Science*, and his own *American Sociologist*; and his membership in many honor societies—all tended to extend his influence. He helped found an honor society in chemistry and served as the national president of Alpha Kappa Delta for ten years (1937–47). Had it not been for his persistent care, that organization might have died during the war. These manifold activities brought associations with many people in many places. He liked young people and they liked him. He was a great teacher, a learned scholar, and a productive writer.

When he was president of the American Sociological Society in 1932, he was one of the originators of the idea that the Society should own and edit its own official journal. This finally became an actuality in 1936 over considerable outright opposition and much serious misgiving by many who thought it was a good idea but that the time was unpropitious. Probably everyone now agrees it was the wise thing to do; the time was right and the founding of the *Review* was a landmark in the history of the Society. L. L. Bernard deserves a great deal of credit for it.

Bernard was always seriously concerned that the Society should never become an undemocratic organization, with the honorary titles and fancy trappings which characterize many learned societies here and abroad. He favored mail balloting and the type of organization which does not make invidious comparisons between the professional achievements of the members. He

knew that the ruthless testing of time is the only means by which the value of a man's work finally can be assessed and he was mortally against all forms of snobbery and class distinctions, whether economic, racial, academic, or any other kind.

In 1911 he married Frances Fenton, a brilliant young woman he met in the graduate school at Chicago. One daughter was born of this marriage. In 1925 he married Jessie Shirley Ravich whom he first met when she was a graduate student at the University of Minnesota. Two boys and a girl were born of this marriage. He always was very fond of children and they of him. If you were not careful, you would find yourself walking miles and miles with him and your children, as I found myself once, through some park, or some zoo, or both. He liked to hike and picnic and prowl into the back streets—and second-hand bookstores—of all the cities he visited. He wrote lots of poetry, mostly sonnets, on all subjects, and stories and poems for his young children. He was a green-thumb gardener and a lover of trees and the out-of-doors. He hated to see any tree cut down for any reason whatever.

Perhaps this is the place to mention his relation with students, since love of children usually is a trait of those teachers who like students. I have never talked to a graduate student of L. L. Bernard who did not speak highly of him as a teacher and a friend. He was a stimulating, challenging, meat-of-the-gospel teacher who expected hard work and a lot of it. He had little patience with laziness and carelessness and corner-cutting; he had infinite patience with those who wanted to learn and were willing to work. He would gladly spend all the time necessary to deal properly with the student's problem, whether it was personal or pedagogical. Perhaps he never forgot the Young Texas Teachers. It may be that good teaching is mainly contagion. Good teachers are those who had a few mind-exciting teachers in their youth; who are afire with passion for their subject. This may explain the effect on students of men

like Ross, Ellwood, Gillette, Small, Park, Thomas, and Bernard.

Another aspect of this interest in students and teaching is Bernard's lifelong studies of the teaching of sociology, the origins of sociology as a subject to be taught, and his participation in the discussions on teaching, on the making of textbooks, and the standardization of terminology which have engaged the attention of the Society through the years. He was a staunch supporter of the good idea back of the Conceptual Integration Committee. One of his best papers, "The Definition of Definition," was written for one of its meetings. He helped organize the section on Political Sociology. He was interested in all meetings that discussed teaching, the problems of small departments, and all matters pertaining to teacher-student relations.

Another matter closely allied to teaching was his interest in South American sociology, or rather, sociology in Spanish-speaking countries. This interest probably goes back to his early interest in languages; he may have taught Spanish at Lamar College. At any rate, he was prepared to work in this field when he received an SSRC fellowship to Argentina for 1926-1927. While there, he became a member of the Association for Historical Studies. He kept contact with South American sociologists thereafter, reviewed their books in the sociology journals, and noted many Spanish social science publications in *The American Sociologist*, a small journal he published almost single-handed from about 1936 to 1949. It was very useful for its brief book notes on publications, especially from foreign countries. It attained a circulation of several hundred at one time. In 1949, he was the American delegate to the First International Congress of Philosophy at Mendoza, Argentina, being a guest of the Argentinian government. One of his last publications was *The Major Forms of Social Integration* (in Spanish), 1951, published for the Research Institute of the University of Mexico.

His socioeconomic ideas and attitudes probably were influenced by the fact that his young manhood fell in the period of

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radical ferment at the turn of the century. He was close to the Pullman Strike, the Populist Movement, the Bryan Crusade for cheap money, the halcyon days of the first Roosevelt, and the dawn of the New Freedom. He had seen many people living in dire poverty and he, himself, had worked hard to get ahead. He saw many others, not so bright and not possessing such a rugged constitution as he, deprived of the opportunities which finally enabled him to emerge into the upper middle class.<sup>7</sup> All these factors fused to make him an undying liberal who hated oppression, poverty, war, disease, and ignorance. He was of the same stalwart breed that gave us Ward, Brandeis, Dewey, and E. A. Ross.

These men never were bothered by the idea that "science is non-normative." They strongly believed science is *for* human welfare—that is the only excuse for its existence; that the sciences, and especially the social sciences, are moral by their very nature; that the only moral sanction rational men want, or can find, is the sanction of science. That scientists should ever knowingly or willingly serve tyrants, or exploiters, or gangsters, or anti-social causes of any kind was abhorrent to them. The idea that science is "merely a technique" to be sold to the highest bidder did not make sense to the turn-of-the-century liberals.

They were as devoted to rigorous scientific method as any man but they saw no conflict between this devotion, which demands the most austere morality and most coercive

values, and the idea that science can tell us what is "right," what is "good," and what the various techniques and findings of science are "good" *for*. Obviously, there are some "moral" postulates underlying such a view just as there are postulates underlying all modes of thinking. It is difficult to see why people who believe in the "unity of science" should balk at the idea of the unity of science, ethics, and esthetics. It may require a somewhat higher order of generalization to arrive at such a unified system of thought, but it should not be above the capacity of anyone who can conceive the unity of science.

Bernard was devoted to rigorous scientific thinking but he also was convinced that scientific knowledge of cultural phenomena eventually will replace myth, superstition, and supernatural sanctions as a guide to social organization and social behavior. He always stood for equality of opportunity for all people to make the most of their innate potentialities; for democratic freedom in this broadest sense of the term; for kindness and decency in human relations; for the end of war, waste, and exploitation of all kinds. He was a man with strong likes and dislikes, some irrational fears and other personality peculiarities, but all in all, he was a man of tremendous drive, deep and enduring loyalties, fundamental integrity, and generous and devoted service to people and causes he loved. He tried to treat all men with justice and understanding within the framework of his principles—to which he gave first and final allegiance.

Personally, I think my life is richer for having known him, my mind is better for having read him, and sociology was greatly advanced by his having devoted his life to it with great energy, intelligence, and singleness of purpose. I am sure there are thousands who share these sentiments and feel, with me, that the death of L. L. Bernard has left a great gap on the horizon of a dark and threatening sky.

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This is as complete as possible considering the time and library facilities at my disposal. Jessie

<sup>7</sup> Though he prided himself on being a good bargainer, he had a peculiar disdain for money and the operations of the market combined with an almost obsessive fear of poverty. He often took advantage of "bargain sales" even when he did not actually need the articles. He frequently failed to cash checks at all. Some were found stuck away in odd places for work he had done as long ago as the preparation of the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. His wife found money and checks in books, drawers, envelopes, and pockets of clothes not worn for many years. Money was merely a symbol of an economic system for which he did not have too high a regard. He was a close man in a "deal," however—a common form of intellectual honesty and a desire for exact accounting.



Bernard gave valuable assistance, especially in preparation of the section on articles in periodicals.

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- "Who Owns the Political Parties?" *Social Science*, 1947.
- "La Crisis Espiritual en los Estados Unidos," *Realidad* (Argentina), Number 11, Sept.-Oct. 1948.
- "Sociological Trends in the South," *Social Forces*, Oct. 1948, pp. 12-19.
- "El Resultado de las Elecciones en los Estados Unidos," *Realidad* (Argentina), Number 12, Nov.-Dec. 1948.
- "Mito, Superstition, Hipotesis, Ciencia," *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, Sept.-Dec. 1949, pp. 385-408.
- "Sociology in the United States Since 1900," translated into Spanish by the Pan-American Union for publication and distribution in Latin America. Three papers delivered at the First International Congress of Philosophy, Mendoza, Argentina, April 1949. Presumably to be published.

### III. BOOK REVIEWS

No attempt has been made to list the hundreds of book reviews in sociological, other social science, psychological, and philosophical journals.

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There are also hundreds of keen but brief book appraisals in *The American Sociologist*. Some of the longer book reviews have a permanent value for the history of sociology.

#### IV. ANONYMOUS PUBLICATIONS

1. Unsigned articles in the *Nation*, *New Republic*, *Iconoclast*, and possibly other publications.
2. Unsigned articles in the World Book Encyclopedia, Americana, and possibly other places.

#### V. UNPUBLISHED WORK

1. The section of *Social Psychology* mentioned in this article above (p. 288).
2. A manuscript on social institutions.

3. Several chapters of a book on methods in sociology.

4. Several hundred poems.

5. Diaries and travel journals.

6. Collections of data and notes on reform, theory, and other topics, including several papers of article length. One of the latter is entitled "American Sociology Today: An Evaluation."

7. Letters. Bernard was a prolific letter writer. Many of them must be valuable for the history of sociology and all of them would be indispensable for anyone who might attempt a full length biography. No one should destroy any letters written to or by Bernard. They should be sent to Mrs. Bernard at State College, Pa., in care of Pennsylvania State College.

## MORALE: CERTAIN THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF DATA IN *THE AMERICAN SOLDIER*

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THE problem of social cohesion has at no time occupied a position of prominence in the thought of American social scientists. True, some of the pioneers such as Giddings, Small, and Cooley treated of social cohesion, and a few brief and scattered conceptualizations of the subject followed upon the termination of World War I, but it was not until American entry into World War II became imminent that the subject became a matter of great concern to psychologists and sociologists. In the earlier gropings for a terminology there apparently was established a preference for the term "group morale," probably as a reaction against the older postulated states of "social solidarity" which had been propounded by such pioneers as Durkheim and Tönnies.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the various attempts to conceptualize morale phenomena which appeared contiguously with American entry into World War II were essentially specula-

tive and propædæutic.<sup>2</sup> In consequence, the term has gained but little in stature and lucidity over the essentially metaphysical notions of European scholars; its present status is still largely that of a popular cliché.<sup>3</sup>

Taken as a whole, the available literature on morale fails to supply a body of clearly defined concepts and propositions which could be carried into the field for testing. However, if the various points of view be taken separately the most careful and systematic conception would seem to be that of Herbert Blumer.<sup>4</sup> While it would appear that

<sup>2</sup> A number of elaborate symposia appeared at this time, including the following: G. B. Watson, ed., *Civilian Morale*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942; W. F. Ogburn, ed., *American Society in Wartime*, University of Chicago Press, 1943; and the special issue entitled "National Morale" of *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 47, November, 1941.

<sup>3</sup> A recent attempt by the writer to reduce the Durkheimian doctrine to verifiable propositions has not proven acceptable to a number of Durkheimian scholars. See his *A Test for the Validity of Durkheim's Conception of Social Solidarity*, unpublished A.M. Thesis, Stanford University Library, 1950.

<sup>4</sup> See his article "Morale" in Ogburn, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-232.

<sup>1</sup> See Emile Durkheim's monograph, *On the Division of Labor in Society*, translated by George Simpson, New York: Macmillan, 1933, and Ferdinand Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, translated by Charles P. Loomis and published under the title of *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology*, New York, 1940.



his views have been favorably received in some quarters at least, so far as can be ascertained they have at no time been adequately and systematically tested against empirical findings. The data now available in *The American Soldier* series<sup>5</sup> make such a test both possible and feasible. The present study, therefore, is an attempt to test, against the data reported in *The American Soldier*,<sup>6</sup> the validity of Blumer's conception of the generic nature of group morale and, more particularly, the form of group morale which he believed to characterize American society in wartime, namely, "practical morale."<sup>7</sup>

## I

Morale, as defined in Blumer's conception, is process rather than "thing." "Group morale exists as a disposition to act together toward a goal."<sup>8</sup> It is not a general condition,

<sup>5</sup> S. A. Stouffer *et al.*, *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II*, vols. I and II, Princeton University Press, 1949. Herein referred to as *The American Soldier*. References are handled in the following way: the first and second volumes are referred to by A and B, respectively; page numbers are given in Arabic numerals; and the various Charts and Tables are identified by citation in parentheses immediately following.

<sup>6</sup> Since the data were compiled from information gathered by individual questionnaire techniques there is, admittedly, some question concerning their validity. However, in granting this it may be well to remember that in the present state of our knowledge we face an either-or proposition; i.e., in our attempts to increase our knowledge of social phenomena, we have either to resort to the use of quantitative data whose validity cannot be objectively ascertained at this time or retreat to nineteenth century forms of arm-chair speculation.

<sup>7</sup> While Blumer's discussion relates chiefly to the forms of group morale which characterize a civilian group or society, it would appear to be legitimate to apply his system to a military body such as the United States Army. His treatment of the subject is restricted to the generic level and in view of this there is no need to dichotomize between civilian and military forms of morale. Indeed, to do so would clearly result in distortion since the two classes of groups are not mutually exclusive but mutually interpenetrate each other through a great number of communication channels.

<sup>8</sup> In Ogburn, *op. cit.*, p. 211. Another definition of group morale which appears to have won a number of adherents emerged as a result of a round-table discussion by a number of leading

but rather exists always with reference to some particular goal.<sup>9</sup> Each situation in which morale is occasioned is comprised of two fundamental and interdependent features, namely, the relation of the group toward its goal and the relation of the group members to each other.<sup>10</sup> In other words, group intention and co-operation are the mutually present and interdependent elements which constitute the behavioral situation with which the student of morale is concerned; both are vital to a morale situation, since by definition there can be co-operation present in a situation without occasioning morale. Only when a group goal co-exists in a situation along with cooperation does it materially contribute to and occasion the need for morale. Thus, each morale situation has a unique structure as determined by the history, traditions, and self-conceptions of the group in question.<sup>11</sup> The test of morale is the ability of the group to meet adverse circumstances and the strength of morale is indicated by the disposition to persist in the face of setbacks, defeats, reverses and trying circumstances.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, where morale is high, there is persistence in carrying out the task of the group and a willingness to stick together on behalf of the group cause; where morale is low or poor, there is but little attachment to

scholars. This conception stresses five essentials to "good" group morale: (1) a positive goal; (2) a feeling of "togetherness;" (3) an awareness of a danger to the group; (4) a conviction that conditions can be improved; and (5) a sense of advance toward the group goals. Cf. Goodwin Watson, "Five Factors in Morale," in Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-48. The reader may agree that the five indices cited—if they are to be literally interpreted—may as easily serve as a primary source of frustration and tensions, leading to frictions and "poor" morale. While the need for brevity precludes a review of the data in terms of this latter frame of reference as an additional feature of this paper, it is suggested that the interested reader may find it rewarding to keep it in mind during the course of his perusal of the analysis of the data about to be presented. The terminological differences aside, the two points of view have much in common at many points.

<sup>9</sup> In Ogburn, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 214.



the group goal and no effective willingness toward a joint undertaking.<sup>13</sup>

Now, with respect to morale in this country in World War II, Blumer hypothesizes a type of morale which is organized around a goal of practical necessity.<sup>14</sup> He inclines to the view that with reference to the war effort the attitudes of the American people were such that they viewed the winning of the war as a necessary job which had to be done.<sup>15</sup> While he is willing to concede that such a vast collective enterprise as winning a war could be accomplished with a very low order of morale, there is little room for doubt in his mind concerning the existence of a sense of duty and of willing cooperation among the American people, and he firmly believes that "it is because of the high value placed on the nation, on what it stands for, and on what it implies in individual life that the winning of the war becomes a matter of practical necessity."<sup>16</sup> In consequence, the corresponding form of morale is organized primarily on the principle of essential and reasoned necessity, and the individual and group adjustments are made to the situation chiefly on this basis. Thus, the task of persons interested in extending the range and raising the level of morale is that of sustaining the realization that the winning of the

war is a necessity and of making clear to the people and keeping clearly before them what is jointly required for this purpose.<sup>17</sup>

The hypothesis to be tested, therefore, can be formulated in the form of four questions: (1) Are there types of specific collective goals, even ones which are deemed as necessary and practically important as the winning of a war, which can be formulated symbolically in such a manner that in any brief span of time they can engage the loyalties and the subtle forms of required cooperation of the bulk of the members of such a large and, in many respects, heterogeneous social grouping as was constituted by the American Army? (2) If such a situation is not empirically realized, what are the factors present in the situation which stand as barriers against a more rational conception of and a greater devotion to a symbolically formulated collective goal? (3) Does willingness to engage in the multitude of minor, local, and individual tasks, essential to the realization of the greater collective goal, vary directly with the external and objective situation in which the group as a whole is placed or is it independent of these and covariable with certain objective and internal group conditions? (4) Is there any evidence that the motivational forces arising out of the symbolically formulated collective goal are at any time primary and sustaining in a concrete behavioral situation, as weighed against such fundamental and previously acquired drives as self-preservation and status-striving?

No doubt the list of feasible questions could be greatly extended. However, in view of the nature of the data and limitations of space it is felt that those listed above will serve to cast some light on the matter in hand.

## II

It may no doubt be legitimately inferred that the action of the Congress in declaring a state of war with the enemy nations reflected, or at least did not offend, the sentiments of the mass of American people. It follows, therefore, that the winning of the

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 210.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 222. Blumer distinguishes three generic types or forms of morale: (1) "practical;" (2) "romantic;" and (3) "sacred." While it is conceivable that all three types may be present in the same situation and with different people framing the group goal in different ways, it is almost certain that one of the three types will be dominant to the point of being almost exclusive. See the discussion in his article (*ibid.*, pp. 218 ff.). While a consideration of the latter two types of morale lies beyond the scope of this paper, the former type, namely, practical morale, is held by Blumer to occur chiefly in groups whose collective enterprise is one of defense. However, it is also to be found in various other professional and occupational groupings. "Doctors, soldiers, firemen, nurses, bandits, policemen, sailors, and miners may carry out a hazardous collective undertaking solely because its performance is conceived by them as something that has to be done." *Ibid.*, p. 219.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 223.

<sup>16</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 224.

war was one of the primary goals espoused by the American people in response to this situation. This goal is, then, presumably to be interpreted as occupying a pre-eminent position in the hierarchy of collective goals constituting the formal social order, since it no doubt can be taken as a clear indication both of a collective awareness of the threat to the group and a realization that fighting and winning were a practical necessity, if the American way of life was to be preserved.

Among the studies of military morale relative to the group goal reported in *The American Soldier*, the responses made by servicemen to a series of formulations about the war are shown in Table I (A, p. 432). These formulations were chosen from the press and other mass media sources and represented more or less conflicting points of view regarding the more remote reasons as to why America was drawn into the war. There was almost complete agreement regarding the formulation: "Whatever our wishes in the matter, we have to fight now if we are to survive." But beyond this point agreement clearly and abruptly ends.

The ideological construct of "fighting to survive" is in essence the lower limit of collective action, which in no adequate way defines the individual roles essential to group survival. Since it is this latter aspect which would determine in whole or in part the measure of sacrifice demanded of the fighting man, the responses tend to reflect the level of individual commitment to the group goal, in that they show war aims espoused by each category of individuals. For example, only two-thirds of the men could agree to the positive statement, "We are in the war to fight until we can guarantee democratic liberties to all peoples of the world." In a negative sense, only 55 per cent were sure they were not "fighting for the economic interest of American Big Business." The remaining items in their own way reveal the mental reservations held by the various groupings of men with respect to their personal commitments to the group goal of winning the war.

The classification of the men's own formulations of their war aims shown in Table 2

(A, p. 436) tends to substantiate further the thesis that agreement upon positive goals, the factor on which effective solidarity or morale would in large measure depend, was clearly not in evidence. In view of the fact that in July of 1943, before the heavy fighting got under way, 36 per cent of the men polled were unable to give a response naming the goals that the United States was fighting for, and that an additional 16 per cent submitted stereotyped responses consisting of a single word like "freedom," "peace," "democracy," etc., the argument for a state of orderly and self-conscious cooperation in crisis becomes very tenuous indeed.

With respect to the group goal in question it will doubtless be agreed that the crucial test of morale is to be found in the willingness to actually engage in the fighting necessary to win the war. It is here that the measure of individual sacrifice and willing cooperation are most adequately tested. It seems reasonable to assume that if morale is high, if the collective goal is intensely held, there should be relatively little place in the individual's attitudinal make-up for expressions of doubt and uncertainty regarding the validity of the demands laid upon him by the group. On the other hand, if the feeling of solidarity with the larger group is very tenuous, if the socially defined goal is less valued than a series of more immediate and individual goals, this too should be reflected in the attitudes held by the individual.

Table 12 (B, p. 154) provides a graphic illustration of how morale, so conceived, became progressively weaker under stress of continued exposure to the crucial test of battle. The responses made by the men to the question asking whether they had ever had the feeling that a given battle "was not worth the cost" reveal that among those tested at least one-half indicated they had such representations "sometimes" or "almost always." Moreover, the incidence of such representations increased notably with combat exposure, ranging, in the case of privates, from 58 per cent after less than two months of exposure to 77 per cent after nine months. In the case of non-coms the inci-

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dence was even higher, reaching to 89 per cent after nine months exposure.<sup>18</sup>

Because of sharp curtailment of staff the Research Branch was unfortunately not able to follow through in an attempt to gather data relating to its predictions of a widespread breakdown of morale after the cessation of hostilities.<sup>19</sup> However, in closing out this point it may be permissible to refer to the scattered data available in the press and elsewhere which indicate that many of the predictions were in fact validated by the behavior of American servicemen the world over. The riots and "mutinies" which broke out in 1946 in all parts of the globe occupied by American troops were, of course, an outright repudiation not only of the general pattern of discipline in the Army but more specifically of the Articles of War, which by virtue of Army regulations were read to the enlisted men every six months.<sup>20</sup>

In this connection an article appearing in *Time*<sup>21</sup> in January, 1946, reports a series of demonstrations by U.S. troops the world over, protesting the delay in their being repatriated to the United States and their enforced suspension from normal peace-time pursuits. This, by troops who had, ostensibly, seen little or no actual fighting.

These data would suggest that the decline in the power of formal discipline to control the behavior of the men was all but complete and universal. This condition was reflected in the widespread reorganization of military and governmental policy in the occupied countries. The behavior of the men had constituted an affront to military order of the highest magnitude in that the Theater Commanders were quite clearly still concerned with the problem of completing the remaining steps in the program for securing the more remote goals for which the American

people had been fighting. The behavior of the men was therefore not only a repudiation of Army authority and military discipline but ultimately of the whole purpose of the war they had fought to win.

### III

There is much evidence to suggest that the military, far from being able to operate freely in a situation in which there was a pre-existent state of high morale, were continually plagued by the problem of maintaining a satisfactory level of morale within the various service branches. This condition, it appears, derived from the fact that among servicemen generally the various branches tended to fall into a hierarchy of preferences.

Research surveys had consistently shown an extremely low level of morale in the Infantry, and in response to these findings the Chief of Staff undertook a systematic program designed to raise the level of morale in this branch. This program included among other things an increase in the rate of pay, a large-scale publicity program, and the introduction of the Expert Infantryman's Badge and the Combat Infantryman's Badge. The latter were to be awarded after passing certain rigorous tests.

The morale effects ensuing upon the promulgation of this symbol of collective recognition of merit and achievement were carefully checked by surveys both before and after the program was introduced. Three Infantry divisions were selected for this experimental study. However, in only two of the divisions were the tests run and the awards given. The third division was suspended from the program for use as a control group. The results of this experiment are given in Chart IV (A, p. 311).

The data show that on the whole the net gains in morale accruing to this program within the Infantry branch were hardly commensurate with the efforts extended. The number of men in the experimental divisions saying they "thought most highly of the Infantry among all Army branches" showed an increase of only 13 per cent among those who took the tests and passed

<sup>18</sup> For additional data reflecting the growth of individually held reservations through time with respect to the war as a whole, see Chart VIII, vol. II, p. 152, Chart II, vol. I, p. 440, and Chart IX, vol. II, p. 588, respectively.

<sup>19</sup> See *The American Soldier*, vol. II, pp. 549-560.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 112.

<sup>21</sup> See the article "Morale," *Time*, January 21, 1946, pp. 20-21.



them. The number in the experimental division who did not take the tests showed a net gain of 5 per cent, while in the control division group the net gain was reduced to one per cent. Similarly, the same respondents indicating whether or not "they would like to be in the Infantry" showed gains of the same order but even less pronounced. In the control group the gain was nil.<sup>22</sup>

While it may be objected that the issues raised in Chart IV constitute a too greatly limited basis to permit sweeping conclusions, a survey in the summer of 1943, at which time the "Four Freedoms" concept of the war aims was being vigorously popularized by government information agencies, revealed that over a third of the men in a sample of 3,139 in the Continental United States had never heard of the "Four Freedoms," and only 13 per cent were able to name three or four of them.<sup>23</sup>

The role of leadership in the morale situation has been given little attention in the literature generally and was completely ignored by Blumer. However, it requires no documentation to assert that leadership and authority are invariably present and in the case of the military are invested with distinguishing symbols which have significance for the group as a whole. By virtue of this fact, leadership and authority would appear to partake of the essence of the collective intention and, therefore, the attributes which characterize intergroup cooperation would be expected to be operative in connection with them. The role and status of the officer were predicated upon considerations of discipline, order, and efficiency within the military institution. And while the official point of view concerning the role of the officer was tempered by exhortations addressed to officers urging them to earn the respect and

willing cooperation of their men by courtesy, unselfish service, and a regard for their individuality,<sup>24</sup> the fact remains that enlisted men were required to show deference by saluting officers, to address them as "Sir," and to render on all occasions explicit and immediate obedience, even when the wishes of the officer were not expressly formulated in the form of a command.<sup>25</sup>

The traditional policy of drawing rigid class lines and distinctions, ostensibly for functional purposes, was carried over into the recent war as a proper part of the training program in O.C.S. camps.<sup>26</sup> It is therefore not surprising that the problems of leadership confronting the officer in the field were doubly confounded by the character of the training he had received. Officers were trained not to lead but to command, and consequently they tended to rely upon discipline rather than to develop and utilize skills which would facilitate appropriate interpersonal relations with the men.

As a result of the rigid class distinctions which were formally drawn and sustained by the Army, the aims, views, and practices of the officers were frequently at variance with the expressed needs and expectations of the men. The relevant data suggest that the men and officers differed widely in their conceptions of what constituted desirable models, and, needless to say, this was no doubt an important factor governing the degree of intergroup cooperation displayed by the men.

Chart IV (A, p. 405) reports the results of a survey among the personnel of six Infantry divisions in various stages of training in the United States during 1943, showing judgments of the relative importance of selected noncom leadership abilities. The sample comprised a cross-section of enlisted men, totalling 3,029, and all of their officers who were readily available, numbering 2,265. The statement submitted to both men and officers for checking

<sup>22</sup> For yet another demonstration of the failure of attempts to raise morale, this time by means of redrawing the Army's orientation series, see Chart IV, vol. I, p. 481.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *The American Soldier*, vol. I, p. 433. For additional evidence of the general ineffectiveness of attempts to raise morale by resort to mass media techniques see vol. III of the series, edited by Carl I. Hovland and entitled *Experiments on Mass Communication*.

<sup>24</sup> See the excerpt from a War Department manual, FM21-50 entitled "Military Courtesy and Discipline," dated June 15, 1942, quoted in *The American Soldier*, vol. I, pp. 387-388.

<sup>25</sup> See the discussion of "expedient behavior," *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 413.

<sup>26</sup> For a report by one participant observer of this inculcation process see *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 389.

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was: "Listed below are five abilities a good noncom is supposed to have. Put a number '1' in front of the one you think is most important, then put a number '2' in front of the one you think is second in importance . . ." The Chart shows the percentages of officers, noncoms, and enlisted men rating each of the abilities appearing in the check list as either first or second in importance. The responses indicate that officers and privates differ sharply in their conception of what makes a good noncom.

"Ability to carry out orders promptly and accurately" was rated as either first or second in importance by 87 per cent of the officers. Among privates it polled only 44 per cent. "Ability to think for himself" rated either first or second in importance by 75 per cent of the officers and only 23 per cent of the privates. For the remaining three skills the rating was sharply reversed. "Ability to help and advise the men under him" was rated as first or second in importance by only 22 per cent of the officers, while among privates 49 per cent had checked it. "Ability to explain things clearly" was rated first or second in importance by only 9 per cent of the officers. For privates the figure was 35 per cent. Finally, "Ability to gain the personal liking of men under him" had only 7 per cent of the first or second choices among officers, while among privates it drew 49 per cent of the votes.<sup>27</sup>

This, then, would suggest that the officers in their leadership roles were inclined to rely almost wholly upon formal discipline rather than on cooperation and the cultivation of personal respect on the part of the men. Such data cast serious doubt upon the notion of "willingness" on the part of the enlisted men to lend themselves to the fullest degree of cooperation.

#### IV

The Army, taken as a single occupational unit, corresponds in a measure to the differentiated occupational grouping characteristic of a civilian society. So considered, there can be no doubt that it was clearly characterized by an order of minor and local goals peculiar to itself. It will therefore be in order to examine the extent to which there was cooperative submission to this order of goals and the degree to which heightened group morale resulted therefrom or was thereby maintained within the unitary occu-

pational group and with reference to American society at large.

The evidence available suggests that the primary consideration governing job satisfaction in the Army generally was an active desire to avoid combat experience. While it appears to have been somewhat less extreme in the Air Corps, there are explanations for this differentiation in that the Air Corps flying personnel had an institutionally limited tour of combat duty, at the end of which time the men were entitled to return to America or otherwise be removed from the immediate combat situation.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, this factor would appear to be reflected in Chart I (A, p. 288) which presents the results of a survey conducted among troops in the United States in April of 1943, showing the correlation between "chance to choose army assignment and branch preference." As would be expected, the Air Corps is found at the top of the regression line, while the Infantry occupies the opposite polar extreme. The remaining branches fall somewhere in-between.

Chart III (A, p. 297), drawing together the attitudes of men in the respective service branches, represents a scale of job satisfaction among privates and noncoms stationed in the United States in July of 1943. Among privates in the Infantry only 16 per cent gave responses indicating they felt "Relatively high" satisfaction in their jobs, as compared with 45 per cent in the Air Corps. As one would expect, among noncoms the figure was a fraction higher. Among Infantry noncoms, 21 per cent gave responses which fell into the "Relatively high" category, while in the Air Corps 60 per cent of the noncoms were included. The difference amounts to 5 and 15 per cent respectively.

Table 13 (A, p. 331) provides data on "attitudes of white enlisted men in the United States toward overseas combat service" as of the period March 1943 through January 1944. The men were queried on the formulation: "If it were up to you, what kind of outfit would you rather be in?" The Table shows that the responses falling into the answer category: "In a combat

<sup>27</sup> Totals in both cases are 200 per cent.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *The American Soldier*, vol. II, Chaps. 6 and 7, *passim*.

outfit overseas" remained relatively stable, ranging from 40 to 50 per cent. On the other hand the percentage of responses falling into the category: "In an outfit that will stay in the U.S." varied from 42 per cent in March of 1943 to 28 per cent in January of 1944. At no time, however, did the figure fall below 25 per cent. If the responses in the latter category are lumped together with those falling into the category: "In a noncombat outfit overseas" it emerges that approximately one-half or 50 per cent of the men would have elected to avoid overseas combat service had it been in their power to do so.

In the European theater enlisted men in Ground and Service Force units were surveyed in April-May of 1945 on their beliefs regarding the Army's effort to distribute dangerous duty fairly. The results are shown in Chart V (B, p. 304). The question to which the men were asked to respond was: "In the Army, some jobs are naturally harder and more dangerous than others and the Army has to put men where it thinks they are needed. Considering everything, do you think the Army is trying its best to see that, as far as possible, no man gets more than his fair share of the hard and dangerous jobs?" The conflicting results show that the direction of response is again consistent with the foregoing indications. Among privates the percentage of responses falling into the category: "Trying its best" varied from 30 per cent in the Infantry line companies to 61 per cent among troops assigned to rear bases, a difference of 31 per cent. Among noncoms, who by virtue of selection might be expected to be more favorable in their views on Army practice in this respect, the number of responses from men in the Infantry line companies falling into the same category was 41 per cent. This represents a gain over Infantry privates of only 11 per cent. Among noncoms assigned to rear bases 57 per cent felt the Army was "Trying its best." The difference here between noncoms and privates is a mere 4 per cent.

These responses indicate the existence of a recognized qualitative difference in the sacrifices being made and reflect a concomitant awareness of differential status. It is not surprising, therefore, to discover evidence of aggressive attitudes toward troops considered to be more fortunate in their assignment.

Chart III (B, p. 300) reports on the resentment felt by combat men toward

troops engaged in rear-area jobs, and how the "rear-area" troops regarded the feelings of combat men toward them. The question which enlisted men in Ground and Service Force units in the European theater were asked in April-May 1945 was: "How resentful do you think soldiers in combat outfits feel about troops who have the rear-area jobs?" More than 50 per cent of all the responses for both noncoms and privates fell into the answer categories: "Very resentful" and "Fairly resentful." The same uniformity of opinion among all troops represented appears at the other end of the scale. Responses classified under the category: "Not resentful at all" deviated only a slight amount in either direction from an approximate median value of 10 per cent.

The factor of intensity of the feelings of resentment is implicit in the foregoing data. Chart IV (B, p. 302) approaches the same phenomenon in another dimension, namely, extent. The question raised with a comparable group of servicemen, this time in the Mediterranean theater, was: "How many soldiers in combat outfits do you think feel resentful about troops who have rear-area jobs?" The percentage of responses given by Ground combat troops falling into the two categories: "Most" and "Quite a few" totalled 85 per cent. Among Service units assigned to rear bases the figure was 69 per cent. Less than 10 per cent of the responses made by either of the groups fell into the category: "Hardly any." Again, both the comparative and the absolute figures are indicative of local and internal considerations which were the antithesis of sound group morale with respect to the group goal.

Chart X (B, p. 322) introduces considerations taken from the point of view of cooperative attitudes within the larger social group which tend further to substantiate the conclusion that important reservations were held by considerable proportions of servicemen. A cross-section of enlisted men stationed in Europe and the Mediterranean were surveyed in April-June 1945 on the question: "In your opinion about how many of the people back home are doing all they should do to help win the war? . . . What

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about your family and close friends? Do you think they are doing all they should do to help win the war?" With reference to the "people back home" only 16 per cent of the men in the European theater gave responses indicating that they felt "Almost all" were doing all they should.<sup>29</sup> Conversely, with reference to "Family and close friends," 48 per cent of the responses given indicated that the men felt that "Almost all" were doing their share. Among men in the Mediterranean, the corresponding figures were 20 and 45 per cent respectively. Here, as elsewhere, the differential character of group attachments points the overwhelming importance of the more immediate peer groupings.

## V

Turning now to an examination of morale at the level of individual motivation it appears that over and above the collective goal of winning the war, a multitude of discretely held objectives underlay combat behavior.

Table 1 (B, p. 109) summarizes the combat incentives named by enlisted Infantry veterans surveyed in the European theater in April, 1944. The question, "Generally, in your combat experience, what was most important to you in making you want to keep going and do as well as you could?", was designed to measure the intensity of the incentives held. Responses fell into a number of discrete categories. The largest single category, "ending the task," including both "thoughts of getting the war over" and "thoughts of getting relief or a rest" yields a total figure of 39 per cent. The second largest category, "solidarity with the group," which includes a larger number of sub-categories, represents only 14 per cent of the replies, while the remaining categories, of

which there are no less than ten, each contain percentages ranging from 10 to 1 per cent of the total responses made.

The extent to which the "practical necessity of winning the war" constrained the individual to behave rationally and in accordance with the group goals can be seen in yet another dimension; namely the duration through time of the motivating power arising out of it. Again the consideration is in order that if the motivating power of the group goal is in fact efficacious it can also be expected to endure through all hardship and privation and in the end, through a strengthening of the response arising out of the repeated exercise, to become in a sense "self-validating" from the individual's point of view. The consensus of limited commitment to the group goal which emerged very early in the war belies the validity of such a principle.

A survey made among soldiers in the South Pacific early in 1944 reveals that a widespread consensus had already developed which defined the upper limits to length of overseas service at something less than two years. Moreover, this period of service was judged to constitute a fair and just measure of devotion to the common cause. A series of questions or formulations designed to establish the extent to which this consensus had been rationalized showed remarkable consistency in the responses given by the men. The findings are given in Chart VII, (A, p. 187).

This Chart reveals that 75 per cent of the men were adamant in their conviction that "There is no reason why the Army could not send all men home after two years overseas if it really wanted to." Another 66 per cent of the men agreed to the formulation that "A man who has been overseas for eighteen months had done his full share in the war and deserves to go home." Further, 63 per cent disagreed with the formulation: "Even if I had a chance to go home, now, I would still rather stay here on the job until Japan is nearer defeat." Finally, only 53 per cent could clearly disagree with the statement: "The Army should send men home at the end of two years or so even if this did

<sup>29</sup> There is considerable additional evidence of the existence of negative attitudes toward both soldiers and civilian groups back in the United States on the part of servicemen stationed abroad. For data on aggressive attitudes toward soldiers stationed in the United States see Tables 6 and 7, and Chart VIII, vol. II, pp. 317, 318, and 319, respectively. For data concerning similar attitudes toward a number of minority groups, including the Negro population, see Table 3, vol. II, p. 585.



slow up the war and delay victory a little bit."<sup>30</sup>

The foregoing discussion has stressed the negative value of the motivating power of the group goal. However, analysis of the phenomenon of individual morale would not be complete without some reference to its more positive aspects. Chart XII (B, p. 174) provides comparative data on responses checked by the veteran enlisted Infantrymen of two theaters of war, the Pacific and the Mediterranean, who were surveyed in March-April of 1944, on the subject of what thoughts helped to keep them going "When the going got tough. . . ." In both theaters, prayer was checked more than any other category. Among the men surveyed in the Pacific 70 per cent indicated that prayer "helped a lot." In the Mediterranean theater, 83 per cent of the men checked this category. The second category checked most frequently was the thought that "you couldn't let the other men down." In the Pacific, 61 per cent of the responses fell into this category, while in the Mediterranean the figure stood at 56 per cent. The absolute figures in both instances take on added importance in view of the fact that only 34 per cent of the men in the Pacific and only 29 per cent of those in the Mediterranean said it helped them a lot "to think of what we are fighting for."<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> For evidence that this same attitude was largely independent not only of combat experience but of overseas experience as well, see Chart II, vol. I, p. 455. Variability in morale on the individual level can be seen from yet another point of view, namely, the tendency on the part of the membership of peer groupings to support or censure the individual whose behavior violated institutional rules. For dramatic evidence of the rapid and progressive decline, after only a brief period of exposure to combat experience, in the degree of disapprobation with respect to individuals who evaded combat by going on sick call, who went AWOL from the fighting front, and individuals who were awarded a dishonorable discharge see Tables 9, 4, and 3 in vol. II, pp. 141, 116, and 115, respectively.

<sup>31</sup> A survey of veteran company grade officers on the same subject produced similar results, only in this case the two most favored response categories are reversed. For additional details see Chart XIII, vol. II, p. 175.

## VI

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Selected data drawn from *The American Soldier*, while subject to considerations of validity, indicate that Blumer's conception of the type of morale which animated the American people (and therefore the American Army) during World War II is grossly inadequate for the explanation of the empirical findings.

With respect to the defined goal of both the military group and American society as a whole it can be granted that there was sufficient collective intention to win the war to bring about a degree of cooperation with the controlling agencies of the society. Such cooperation, however, proved to be not without strong and well defined reservations. The lack of agreement on the more positive war aims, the widespread lack of conviction concerning the value of fighting the war, the well-defined conception of a limited personal commitment which emerged early in the war, and the complete withdrawal of willingness to cooperate further upon the cessation of hostilities amply attest the fact that group morale with respect to the symbolically formulated collective goal of winning the war (and its logical corollary, securing the peace) was extremely tenuous in the beginning and soon proved to be wholly lacking in the face of the realities of the situation.

The utter failure of all attempts to raise morale through the introduction of status symbols and of specialized programs designed to enlighten the troops concerning the means of achieving their goal, together with the failure on the part of military leaders to transcend class barriers and to cooperate with the men's needs and expectations, further demonstrate the inadequacy of Blumer's conception of the type of morale which is organized around a goal of practical expediency and which can be fostered by rational persuasion and education. There can be no doubt, as the more extensive studies of the effects of mass media communication have repeatedly demonstrated, that the effects of previous valuations, definitions, and objectives stand as a more or less



permanent barrier to any sudden shift in the level of aspirations and expectations of people reared in American society.

The restrictions upon high group morale arising out of the division of labor appear to have existed independently of the external situation in which the group was placed. The differential sacrifices involved on the part of certain sub-groupings was a prime source of friction and discontent, leading to demoralization in the sense that aggressive attitudes developed toward groups deemed to be more advantageously placed. The state of morale was further aggravated by the differential status accorded the various roles within the military. Not only did those individuals and groups assigned to tasks characterized by a high degree of risk to their persons evidence least willingness to cooperate in the pursuit of the collective goal, but also among those groups the resentment and antipathy toward other more favored groups, both within the military and within the larger society, were most marked.

It appears that the sources of positive motivation in the combat situation were primarily the abstract objects of supplicatory rites and, secondarily, considerations arising out of loyalty to and regard for the welfare of the small informal status groups comprised of comrades in arms, upon which the individual was dependent in the main for protection and survival. The behavior of the individual fighting man was for the most part predicated upon an order of culturally derived situational definitions which tended to reflect local group attachments, being

ultimately governed by considerations of self-interest and self-preservation. Only by construing the notion of cooperation with respect to a specific collective goal, symbolically formulated, in this very diffuse and restricted sense does it appear to have any meaning in reality whatsoever.

In general conclusion, it seems safe to say that group morale is a very much more subtle and complex order of phenomena than has apparently been realized. The entire body of data herein reviewed suggest that morale is a highly particularistic and segmental phenomenon. The behaving individual appears to place considerably less general value on the abstractly formulated group goal and on exhortations designed to bring about intergroup cooperation, per se, than he does upon the specific, momentary and personally relevant satisfactions which he believes can be most optimally secured through collective action. What these will be at any particular moment will depend, overwhelmingly, upon the particular sub-culture in which the individual received his previous socialization. It would appear that only as there is brought about, by chance or by design, a condition in which there is present a well articulated and interlocking system of such individually held purposes, valuations, and definitions with reference not to a single great goal, suddenly and abstractly formulated, but to a series of mutually supporting smaller goals can there be an actual "disposition to act together" to achieve some collective purpose.

## COMMENT

HERBERT BLUMER  
University of Chicago

I have been unable to find that Mr. Zentner has tested any of the propositions presented in my analysis of morale.<sup>1</sup> I hope that in a rejoinder he will point out clearly which, if any, he has tested.

As his first line of effort, Mr. Zentner has applied to the American Army in World War II a characterization which I made of morale in the civilian population. In my article I deliberately refrained from dealing with morale in the American Army since I knew too little about it. I made no statement that a state of morale even existed in the Army, much less that it was of a certain type. Thus, while the point is minor, I merely wish to note that obviously Mr. Zentner cannot be testing any propositions of mine concerning morale in the American Army since I made none.

As his second and central line of effort Mr. Zentner seeks to use data taken from *The American Soldier* to test my analysis of the generic nature of group morale. The data which Mr. Zentner uses would indicate that the American Army, taken as an entity, had no powerful collective goal, no strong collective purpose and no high solidarity. Why Mr. Zentner believes that this refutes my analysis is mystifying. There is nothing in my analysis of the generic nature of morale to imply that the American Army either had, or logically had to have, a strong collective goal, purpose and solidarity. History shows a number of collective enterprises, sometimes well organized and quite successful, which lacked strong collective goals. Indeed I stated (pp. 214-215 of my article):

A group, such as a nation, may have an equipment fully adequate for the task, an efficient organization, and a trained and skillful personnel. The participation of the people in such an enterprise may occur as a matter of course. It may be brought about by force or coercion, by mere habituation to assigned tasks, or by matter-of-fact obedience. In such an efficiently organized effort there may be little need for the group to be strongly animated by a common goal or to feel keenly any participation in mutual effort.

<sup>1</sup> "Morale," in W. F. Ogburn, ed., *American Society in Wartime*, University of Chicago Press, 1943.

Since my analysis posits in no way that the American Army had to have a strong collective objective, a strong collective purpose and strong solidarity, a finding that these were not present does not even test the analysis much less refute it. A theory or proposition is tested empirically by applying it to an instance of what the theory or proposition logically covers, not by applying it to something that falls outside of such a logical class.

In passing I wish to point out that Mr. Zentner has grossly misrepresented what I said concerning the nature of collective goals in the instance of group morale. He speaks of such a collective goal as an "abstractly formulated group goal" which is developed "suddenly" through "exhortations designed to bring about inter-group cooperation." I am unable to understand how he arrived at these distorted conceptions from what I wrote. Goals like that of meeting danger in the case of "practical morale," or of gaining riches in "romantic morale," or of reaching some divine destiny in "sacred morale" are embedded in rich emotional imagery; they are the *opposite* of abstract formulations. Further, as I explained very explicitly on page 213 of my article, such goals rarely arise suddenly and are not created in any automatic way through exhortation or educational efforts:

It is indeed rare for a group to form almost spontaneously a collective goal charged with high value and to develop instantaneously a sense of mutual support among its members. Some crises, such as an immoral attack, may quickly arouse such a disposition. Usually, however, the group has to build up its goal, forming an image of its position and of its task out of continuing experience. It is a process of growth and learning, of changed views and assessments of the group aim, of transformation of the conceptions which the people have of themselves with reference to the collective undertaking. People usually have to form and re-form their images of the goal, discover and rediscover their group, develop and redevelop their allegiance. The line of experience may be long and it may be bitter. High morale, in the form of a fixity of purpose and an abiding sense of unity, is forged out of a complicated process of definition and redefinition of goal, of evaluation and reevaluation of event, until there is a common

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understanding imbedded in the feelings and images of the people. Morale is not something already made, merely to be pumped into people.

Mr. Zentner's portrayal of what I said concerning the nature of collective goals is palpably false. The fact that he addresses his data with such a grotesque misrepresentation merely increases my confusion as to what he is testing. His careless reading of what I wrote leads him to lay down a number of absurd propositions which are not part of the views which I presented.

Finally, Mr. Zentner proposes an alternative conception of group morale, referring to it as "a highly particularistic and segmental phenomenon" and as an articulation of "individually held purposes, valuations and definitions with reference not to a single great goal suddenly and abstractly formulated (sic!) but to a series of mutually supporting smaller goals." I doubt if Mr. Zentner means by segmental phenomena "individually held purposes" which were formed and which exist independently of one another. If he does I would be forced to say that he knows nothing of group morale and has never studied it realistically. Group morale exists as a *shared* condition—feelings, images and conceptions formed through reciprocal stimulation, inspiration, guidance and support. I assume, instead, that Mr. Zentner has in mind by segmental phenomena sub-group states of mo-

rale. Such a condition could obviously occur. I am not clear, however, what Mr. Zentner means by the "articulation" or "mutual support" of such segmental phenomena—he nowhere explains, illustrates or tests what he means. I assume that he merely means that separate sub-groups may have morale in their respective endeavors and that these endeavors may be part of a larger organized scheme. I merely note that under such conditions there is no state of morale for the larger collectivity but instead a series of states of morale of separate units. This notation is more than a point in semantics. Precisely because there existed merely a number of sub-group states of morale separately and independently of each other there would always be logically the dangers of difficulty of such groups acting together where they had to act together. In the absence of a sense of being engaged in a mutual task transcending their sub-unit goals the door would be opened to jealousies, invidious comparison and depreciation. In a measure this is the sort of picture given by the data that Mr. Zentner has presented. These data, as I see them, yield anything but a picture of morale as suggested by Mr. Zentner's idea of "articulation."

I hold no brief for the validity or importance of the analysis of group morale made in my article. I must say, however, that Mr. Zentner had done nothing to test the analysis.

## REJOINDER

Mr. Blumer's comments on my paper appear to question the validity of extending to the American Army in World War II the propositions concerning group morale which he derived from his analysis of the state of group morale which characterized American society during wartime.

While it is true, as he observes in his commentary, that he "made no statement that a state of morale even existed in the Army, much less that it was of a certain type," readers who are familiar with the text of Mr. Blumer's analysis of morale will, I am sure, recognize that the propositions therein laid down apply to an inclusive logical category, namely, the American people—not explicitly to the civilian population alone, as suggested by him in his commentary—of which the American Army must be included as a logical sub-category. The test made is, therefore, logically valid, even

though it may have been no part of Mr. Blumer's intention to have his propositions so extended.

Mr. Blumer contends that there is nothing in his analysis of the generic nature of morale to imply that the American Army either had, or logically had to have, a strong collective goal, purpose and solidarity. But that there was a state or condition of group morale in the American Army follows logically from Mr. Blumer's conceptual framework relating to the *generic* nature of group morale and the forms in which it is manifest, since it was a matter of empirical discovery that the American Army did have a collective goal—which upon examination proved to be one of "practical" necessity—toward the achievement of which there was some measure of collective disposition. The universality of Mr. Blumer's propositions are clearly implied in the concept "generic," and consequently any

empirical case meeting the criteria which are explicitly or implicitly given in the theoretical statement may be legitimately taken as a test for the validity of the theoretical statement. The American Army clearly was one such case.

It was not a matter of direct concern to me whether the state of morale which characterized the American Army was such as could be designated high or low morale. Rather, I simply took Mr. Blumer's analytical framework as a starting point, in terms of which it proved feasible to establish the fact that the type of morale found in the American Army was actually such as could justifiably be designated "practical morale." Having established this fact, I attempted to test against empirical data the adequacy of Mr. Blumer's analytical framework by utilizing the respective indices of group morale appearing in *The American Soldier* data.

The rationale for such procedure, if it need be stated, is that unless a concept can be subjected to testing it is scientifically useless. This has already proven to be the case with respect to Durkheim's conception of social solidarity (see footnote 3 of my paper). I had gratuitously assumed that it was part of Mr. Blumer's intention that his conception of morale should have some measure of scientific utility. In view of his remarks, however, it would now appear as though there were some doubt concerning this matter.

Mr. Blumer reiterates that "Group morale exists as a *shared* condition—feelings, images and conceptions formed through reciprocal stimulation, guidance and support." With all this I have no quarrel, as such. However, if a theory of morale is to be useful it must specify the conditions under which and by whom it will be "shared." It was my purpose to determine analytically the objective covariants of "practi-

cal" group morale in an empirical situation and through time. The general conclusion warranted by the data reviewed was that the sociopsychological processes which contribute to a state of high morale are identical with those which contribute to a state of low morale—the determining factors in either case being certain objective features of the situation as a whole in which the individual as well as the group is placed.

The relatively high level of group morale which characterized certain sub-groupings apparently existed only with reference to *certain* collective endeavors—not all possible or conceivable ones. Under conditions such that sheer individual survival was threatened, it appears that group members did work together and actively cooperate in the pursuit of a common collective goal. Under such conditions, too, the empirical basis for the notion of a series of individually held, but "mutually supporting" and "articulated" goals is clearly enough revealed. Apparently, it was only on this fundamental level of motivation that relatively unreserved cooperation from the group members was forthcoming; the less "fundamental" the nature of the collective goals, the less the degree of disposition to work together toward a common end on the part of American Army personnel. It is in respect to its failure to set forth specifically and in precise terms the nature of the collective goals around which "practical group morale" is presumed to crystallize, that Mr. Blumer's analysis of group morale on the generic level has proven to be inadequate. I entertain no notions of any kind that the empirical data reviewed *absolutely* disprove Mr. Blumer's theory in all of its aspects; they have, however, made feasible a tentative evaluation and an attempted reformulation.

HENRY ZENTNER

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## MISUNDERSTANDINGS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS \*

GUSTAV ICHHEISER

Chicago, Illinois

SINCE I agree with those who insist that social science is not only a science but also an art, I shall start my paper not with facts and concepts but with two metaphorical stories. These stories will point, symbolically, in the direction of those facts and issues which I shall later discuss conceptually.

The first story: A friend is visiting your city for the first time and he wants to gain a general view of the city. You take him first to the north end where there is a tall tower with a view commanding the whole area. Then you take him to a similar spot at the south end. At that point your friend exclaims with great amazement, "How very strange! The city looks quite differently from here!" Now, what is your reaction? Something of shock, for you rightly assume that every normal adult understands that things in physical space look differently from differing points of view. You probably conclude that your friend is, to say the least, a bit unbalanced and in need of psychiatric attention.

Now, the really strange thing is that what every normal person understands by himself as far as things in *physical* space are concerned, most people do not understand, and even do not want to understand, so far as phenomena in *social* space are concerned. And any attempt to explain the relativity of social perspectives, and its full implications, usually meets with strong psychological resistance.

The second story: Here we approach the core of our problem. Assume that, pointing to a desk, I should say, "This is a chair," and in spite of all attempts on your part to correct me, I still insist it is a chair. You

determine that I do know the English meaning for desk and chair. You prove my eyesight is not faulty. Still I insist. Now further assume that it is of utmost importance to you, both in terms of your own personal welfare and your moral values, to maintain for yourself and others that this is a desk, not a chair. Thus, my insistence to the contrary would threaten your whole external and inner security system. How then will you react to my insistence? You will probably contend that I am insane and suffer from hallucinations or that I am a dangerous and subversive person—in either case needing to be locked up; or being yourself a "tolerant" person you decide that, at the very least, I am a "queer" person and am to be avoided.

Does this story seem to you pointless? People, by and large, do agree as to what is a desk and what a chair; what a blackboard or a window, a pipe or a cigarette. So long as *physical* objects are concerned, we agree, but if we turn from physical objects to *social* facts then our story becomes pertinent and very realistic—in symbolic terms. For what to members of the one ethnic group looks like "aggression," to members of another group looks like "defense" or "revolt;" what to the one group looks like "liberation," to the other group looks like "enslavement;" what to the one group looks like "re-education," to the other group looks like "persecution;" what to the one group looks like "dictatorship," to the other group looks like "true democracy;" what to the one group looks like a "hero," to another group looks like a "criminal"—the list could be continued *ad infinitum*. The real problem is, why do people of different cultural and, particularly, national background see the social world in entirely different ways?

Before I answer this question by translating the metaphorical stories into the lan-

\*Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Denver, September 7-9, 1950.

guage of facts and concepts, two prefacing points are pertinent.

First, most of what will be said in discussing the social psychology of misunderstandings in international relations would apply also, with some slight modifications, to other intercultural relations; and some would apply as well to all human relations.

Second, I shall refrain from discussing at this time those misunderstandings which have their roots in differences of ideologies which are not primarily culturally conditioned. I am, of course, fully aware that the disentanglement of nationalistic ideologies on the one hand, and non-nationalistic factors in ideologies on the other hand, is of utmost importance for a comprehensive understanding of certain basic issues of our age. What relationship, for instance, obtains between nationalistic or even racial factors, on the one hand, and communist-ideological factors, on the other hand, in the present revolutionary movements in Asia?

I shall proceed now to discuss first what might be called the two basic "dynamic systems" which are at the bottom of intercultural and international misunderstandings. These two "dynamic systems" are not the only ones which produce misunderstandings, but I am inclined to believe that they are two of the most important. And second, I shall discuss two types of nationalism, the *conscious* and the *unconscious*, which distinction is, in my opinion, also of crucial importance for an understanding of the whole problem.

The first of the two "dynamic systems" which are causing misunderstandings in international relations is related to a certain definite interdependence between culture, emotions, perceptions and again emotions; the second "dynamic system" is related to what I called recently the limits of insight.

#### 1. Culture—emotions—perceptions—emotions

Cultural background is among the major factors which influence how we feel about things, i.e., about the various aspects and contents of our immediate experience.

The way we feel about things, i.e., our likes and dislikes, our hopes and our fears, and so on,

influence not only our motives, ideas, and actions, but our perceptions as well. This means that the way we perceive the world, what we see and to what we are blinded, what we emphasize and what we neglect, and a host of valences and characteristics of the perceptual world, are the expressions, projections, manifestations of our emotions. The scientific realization that our emotions significantly determine and thus distort our perceptions, seems to be comparatively new, and is not yet fully understood in its far-reaching theoretical and practical implications.

Not only do our emotions influence our perceptions but, in turn, our perceptions evoke our emotions. We are confronted here with one of those numerous vicious circles operating frequently in human affairs. In consequence of this interdependence, not only do our emotions, culturally conditioned as they are, influence the organization of our perceptions but in turn our thus emotionally conditioned perceptions influence certain of our emotional reactions.

Of particular importance in this context is the fact that the law of the emotional, and thus indirectly cultural, conditioning of our perceptions and conceptions applies, of course, also to our perceptions and conceptions about other people and about ourselves. Hence, to limit our discussion here to the collective level only, and using an example, being a Frenchman means, among other things, having certain definite, collectively distorted perceptions and conceptions about, let us say, Englishmen on the one hand, and Frenchmen themselves, on the other, which distorted images, in turn, evoke certain specific emotional reactions.

As a rule, we are completely unaware of the silent organization of our perceptions (and conceptions) by our culturally conditioned emotions, and of the far-reaching implications of this state of affairs. Instead, we believe that we simply see things "as they really are." It is even fair to say that the culturally conditioned organization of our emotions and thus also of our perceptions is among those mechanisms which are the most hidden from our explicit awareness. (Particularly naive in this respect are the Marxians: they see that our "consciousness" is determined by the socio-economic system, but are altogether blinded to the more deep-seated fact that it is determined by our culture.)

If, therefore, members of two groups influenced by two different cultures meet, both, by and large, take it for granted that they

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themselves see the things, including themselves and each other, "as they really are." When they find, as they are bound to find, that others see things differently, both reach the conclusion that it is the other fellow who is unable to see the things "as they really are" and who has distorted conceptions about himself as well as about others.

The final step which, in a way, closes the cycle of the inter-cultural misunderstandings (and irritations), consists in developing various defense-mechanisms which serve the purpose of maintaining the belief in the validity of our own perception of reality by insisting and "proving" that something, intellectually or morally or both, is wrong with the others. In order to prove that we are right and true and even sane, we have to prove that others are wrong and false, if not outright insane.

The intensity and amount of misunderstandings (and irritations) which will actually develop in this situation will depend, among other things, on the degree of the incompatibility of the respective cultural patterns; on the underlying ecological configuration; and on the distribution of power among the groups which are irritating each other.

Let us now turn to the second "dynamic system."

## 2. Limits of Insight<sup>1</sup>

We can, of course, communicate adequately only with those people whose symbols, i.e., whose "language" in the broadest meaning of this term, we understand.

We have to distinguish with reference to our problem in this context four types of symbols: first, those symbols which we are able to identify as symbols and whose meaning we understand—for instance, a foreign language which we speak; second, those which we are able to identify as symbols the meaning of which we do not understand, yet are fully aware of our lack of understanding—for instance, a foreign language which we do not speak; third, those which we fail to identify as symbols, thus not understanding that we do not understand—for instance, not understanding that certain districts have a certain symbolical prestige for the members of another group; and fourth, those which we are able to identify as symbols but

misinterpret as to their real meaning—for instance, misunderstanding of the meaning of certain religious symbols for those who share another creed.

It is the last two forms which are the sources of the most important misunderstandings in intercultural and international relations. Not to understand is a frustrating experience, especially if we cannot help being in contact with those whom we do not understand and with whom we possibly have to cooperate; it leads to disappointments when the false expectations are disproved by the experience.

This being the case, it is inevitable that between members of different cultural groups who have different symbols expressing different meanings, certain peculiar forms of non-understanding and misunderstanding are likely to develop in addition to those which are operating even among the members of the same cultural (national) group. This state of affairs is aggravated by the fact that, in order to overcome their perplexity, people who are confronted by disagreements arising from misunderstandings tend to develop certain forms of pseudo-understanding in order to maintain the belief that it is the others and not they themselves (or both) who are responsible for all those disagreements, irritations, and disappointments.

Hence, again, the vicious circle is closed: differences in the systems of symbols lead to non-understanding and misunderstanding; non-understanding and misunderstanding lead to irritations; these, in turn, evoke defense-mechanisms which serve the purpose of maintaining the belief that "we are right" and "they are wrong."

In approaching the same problem of misunderstandings in international relations from a somewhat different angle, I shall discuss now two types of nationalism, namely, the conscious and the unconscious, a distinction which, as already mentioned, is of great importance for an understanding of certain misunderstandings in international relations.

We are dealing with a *conscious* type of nationalism if members of a national group profess and emphasize in an open way certain particular national ideals, if they strive consciously and overtly towards certain particular national goals, at the same time rejecting in a more or less aggressive way the values, ideals, symbols and goals of other national groups.

<sup>1</sup> As to other aspects of the "limits of insight," see my *Misunderstandings in Human Relations*, University of Chicago Press, 1949, pp. 37-43.



If, on the other hand, members of a national group are so deeply involved in a set of nationally determined assumptions, interpretations, conceptions that, even though not expressing in an articulate way any particular beliefs and ideals, they see in fact and judge everything from their own national point of view, then we are dealing with an *unconscious* type of nationalism.

The conscious nationalist, if he fights, fights in concrete terms and with full awareness—for America, or for France, or for Japan, or for whatever country. The unconscious nationalist, if he fights, fights always in the abstract for “humanity,” or “justice,” or “freedom,” and remains completely blinded to the fact that the way he defines these ideas and ideals is determined by his unconscious nationalistic frame of reference.

To put it another way, the conscious nationalist *is* a nationalist and *knows* that he is a nationalist. The unconscious nationalist is also a nationalist, but he either does not know it, or denies it, or even professes to be “against nationalism.” He is, in a way, the “partner in crime” of the notorious “unprejudiced man” in the domestic scene, and is among the most dangerous types of our age.<sup>2</sup>

In trying to understand the misunderstandings in international relations in the light of social psychology, we have, therefore, to analyze national attitudes, motives, conceptions, and actions on two levels. Ethnic and similar groups which, on the conscious level, believe themselves, or even appear, not to be nationalistic at all, nevertheless are often profoundly nationalistic as far as their unconscious presuppositions and motivations are concerned. This unconscious nationalism may manifest itself on the con-

scious level in the disguise of most perplexing and confusing transformations and rationalizations. So, for instance, “pacifism” may be sometimes only a rationalization of a nationalistic or even chauvinistic attitude of privileged ethnic groups which, being satisfied with the status quo, wish to enjoy it in peace. Or again, “internationalism” may be only a distorted manifestation of deep-seated, unconsciously nationalistic attitudes of certain ethnic or similar groups or subgroups which may hope, by participating in a pseudo-internationalistic movement, to improve the status of their ethnic group.

In spite of Marxian theories, unconscious nationalism is more deeply rooted in the personality structure than is class-consciousness. The Frenchman, for instance, might have some doubts as to whether he is a bourgeois or a proletarian; he might have his doubts as to whether he ought to be a democrat, a communist, or a fascist; but he cannot have any doubts as to whether he “is” (or whether he “ought to be”) a Frenchman. His nationality is so basically a part of his personality that it can never become a “problem” to him. He takes it for granted. A problem and dilemma can be only something which might be in doubt. Orthodox Marxism is mainly responsible for the confusion in the mind of many intellectuals concerning these obvious facts.

To repeat and summarize, the unconscious nationalist, not being aware of his own nationalistic frame of reference and its hidden presuppositions and motivations, believes that he is simply a “human being,” that he sees the facts “as they really are,” and as they are seen by all other “reasonable people.” He feels irritated that there are other ethnic groups who do not have the same “objective” and “correct” conceptions which he is happy to possess; he does not realize that he, in turn, irritates those others who are as sure as he is himself that not he but they themselves have “objective” and “correct” conceptions. Our unconscious nationalist then wonders how it happens that other people fail to realize their “false” ideas about things “as they really are.” Are these

<sup>2</sup> Morris Ginsberg in his book *Reason and Unreason in Society*, Harvard University Press, 1948, p. 165, mentions that the famous German writer, G. E. Lessing, wrote in 1767 that the Germans seem not to have any national characteristics. Oddly enough, notes Ginsberg, David Hume, Lessing's contemporary, made almost an identical statement about the English, which clearly shows how blinded we are to our own cultural characteristics.



other people bad? Or are they stupid? Or are they misguided?

Now, some people might say that what I call "unconscious nationalism" is only another term for "ethnocentrism." However, it seems to me, that my concept emphasizes different aspects of the respective attitudes. First, the main point I am stressing is not that the unconscious nationalist sees things from his own point of view but that he is not aware of it. Second, I am calling attention to the fact that it is one thing to know about ethnocentrism "in principle," and it is quite another story to know of what, concretely, our own ethnocentric attitudes, motives, assumptions, interpretations, and conceptions consist. And third, I insist upon the importance of an analysis of the relationship between the conscious and the unconscious aspects of nationalism.

The question arises as to whether this present diagnosis refers to all inter-ethnic relations or merely and specifically to the situation with which we are confronted in our age. My answer is that the described features of inter-ethnic relations, and particularly of international relations, appear in our age in an aggravated form. There are several causes which are responsible for this aggravation. I wish, however, to mention briefly only two of them.

First (and this has been often said) the revolution of the technology of communication and transportation brought in its wake *physical* contacts among ethnic and similar groups which, psychologically, not only do not understand each other but, what is still more confusing, do not even understand that they do not understand each other. I hope and pray that we all shall begin as soon as possible to understand at least that we do not understand each other.

Second (and this point is often overlooked), social reality has become more and more complex, ambiguous, elusive, "invisible." In consequence, the social world we are confronted with looks more and more like an ink-blot, like a Rorschach test which everybody can shape according to his own hopes, fears, hatreds, suspicions, and the like. And nobody knows in fact who is who,

and what is what. This, it seems to me, is one of the most fundamental, if not actually the most fundamental, dilemma of our age.

Now, what should we do about this situation, especially in terms of a sociology of education? My first, and very personal, answer is that I do not adhere to a radically pragmatic philosophy of life. This means that I would insist upon discussing this issue and upon maintaining, at least "esoterically," our intellectual integrity in a confused world even if I knew we could do little about this matter in terms of effective action. In contradiction to many colleagues, I am both for research and reflection without action and for action without research. However, I submit the following five practical suggestions:

1. It is a basic fact and fate of mankind that it is subdivided into ethnic and similar groups. This fact and fate must be recognized and acknowledged. Men are not simply "human beings"—they are Americans, Frenchmen, Germans, Chinese, Japanese, Gentiles, Jews, Protestants, Catholics, and so on. This variety of cultural backgrounds is an essential and integral part of human personality. Hence, if we consider ourselves and each other simply as "human beings," then we either deceive or misunderstand ourselves and each other.

2. Since people *are* in fact nationalists, i.e., since their perception of social reality is profoundly influenced by their cultural-national background, it would be much better if they would be at least aware of this state of affairs. What I actually suggest is that the best thing to do is to transform unconscious nationalists into conscious nationalists who are aware that they actually see things in the particular perspective of their national group. I repeat, not the conscious but the unconscious nationalist who strives for a "one world" defined in terms of his own nationalistic frame of reference to which he himself is blinded, is the most dangerous fellow of our age.

3. We should discard our naively optimistic presupposition that there is some kind of a "pre-established harmony" among

various cultural patterns and among various ethnic groups. This presupposition—upon which, incidentally, the current trends in intercultural education are largely based—is obviously a counterpart of the presupposition of the classical (liberal) economists who assumed that there is a kind of a pre-established harmony among various classes and between self-interests of the individuals and the interests of the society as a whole. Both presuppositions are entirely unrealistic. We should rather recognize the fact that tensions, antagonisms, conflicts, misunderstandings among various cultural groups are a *normal* state of affairs. This fact should not be camouflaged but should be taken into account in framing our ideas and actions.

4. I also suggest that we cease lamenting and denouncing the "irrational factors" in personality and society. These so-called "irrational factors" are in the very core of our personality and many sacred meanings and values of life are rooted in them. A society without irrational beliefs is an unknown entity and in practical terms a complete impossibility.

5. Finally—and this is the most practical suggestion—I urgently suggest that we should establish a committee, or a research group, in which social scientists (including

psychologists, of course) of different cultural background would reach a solemn "gentleman's agreement" that, in a "permissive atmosphere," they will tell each other frankly what they consider in each other to be a bias, false silent assumption, blind spot, culturally distorted interpretation, prejudice, and the like. For, obviously, not only the common man but also the social scientist is profoundly affected by his cultural background and his conditioned emotions in his perceptions and conceptions, in his research and theory. The illusion of a culturally independent objectivity is probably the most serious occupational disease of social scientists. I have not the slightest doubt that, if this suggestion would be accepted and translated into practice, what would come out of such an experiment would be of such a nature that, as compared with it, the Kinsey Report would pale into insignificance.

Should I have the privilege of being invited to take part in such a discussion, in a permissive atmosphere and after a gentleman's agreement has been reached for being frank with one another, then, being of cautious nature, I would still ask for the special permission of being allowed to reveal only approximately fifty per cent of what I consider to be the truth.

## LOS ANGELES ROOMING-HOUSE KALEIDOSCOPE

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**I**NHABITANTS self-consciously individualistic on the one hand, herd-like on the other; crises constantly recurring amidst the vacuity of the present and the uncertainty of the future—these are phenomena of modern America. They are also rooming-house phenomena. In rooming-

houses are collected individuals who are, for the most part, outside the pale of regulated monogamous living. The proscriptions and the prohibitions of the family and the church barely encompass this population; nor are they confined by the group solidarity of voluntary associations, for they are not "joiners." These human fringes highlight the special characteristics of modern society: the anonymity and impersonality of urban living, and its resultant egocentricity and

\* The author is most grateful for the extensive interviewing assistance of Mr. Mickey Heilig and the aid in tabulation of Miss Shelley London, two co-rooming housers.

personal disorganization; the efficiency of our competitive economic system and the poverty of its human by-products.

#### METHOD OF STUDY

The pattern of living of six-hundred Los Angeles rooming-house residents was the subject of a questionnaire and interview study in the spring of 1949. Three economically and socially homogeneous rooming-house areas of the city were selected: Hollywood, peopled with aspiring artists and "has beens;" Figueroa, a blue-collared, clerical environs; and the Downtown slum area. For purposes of classification, Hollywood is regarded as the "upper" rooming-house fringe, Figueroa and Downtown, the "lower." This division is arrived at by such criteria as education, income, and level of aspiration. The typical Hollywood rooming-house resident has completed high school,<sup>1</sup>

has a weekly wage, if employed, of \$50, and has middle-class success aspirations. The typical Downtowner has gone to school less than eight years, has a weekly wage of \$40, on which he more frequently supports a wife and children than do Hollywoodians, and his aspirations extend little beyond the economic. The Figueroan represents a mid-point in education, but since his values and goals are closer to those of the Downtowner, only the dichotomous Hollywood-Downtowner classification is used.

The rooming-house population in the city of Los Angeles was obtained from the Bureau of Sanitation of the City Health Department.<sup>2</sup> Each rooming-house was

pleted high school. Downtown, only 18 per cent finished high school and 43 per cent completed less than the eighth grade.

<sup>2</sup> A rooming-house is classified as a subdivision of a hotel. A hotel is defined as "any structure or any portion of a structure, including any lodging house, rooming house, dormitory, turkish bath,

<sup>1</sup> Almost 50 per cent of Hollywood rooming-house residents attended college, 72 per cent com-

TABLE 1. THE SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION BY AREA, AGE, SEX, AND RACE  
(Universe Proportions for These Census Tracts Are Not Available)

	Male								Female							
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and over	Total Male	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and over	Total Female
<i>Downtown Los Angeles</i>																
White	..	..	6	1	10	8	27	52	..	2	..	1	4	..	3	10
Negro	2	14	28	23	18	3	2	90	4	18	13	29	18	3	1	86
Mexican, Indian, Latin American	5	9	5	5	3	3	1	31	..	6	5	3	2	2	..	18
Hawaiian, East Indian, Filipino, Japanese, Chinese	..	4	2	2	1	1	5	15	..	3	..	1	..	..	1	5
Total	7	27	41	31	32	15	35	188	4	29	18	34	24	5	5	119
<i>Hollywood</i>																
Total	8	33	24	17	11	7	8	108	6	17	15	10	5	6	6	65
(Includes 168 White, 5 Nonwhite)																
<i>Figueroa</i>																
Total	3	9	13	11	13	12	21	82	1	8	4	15	7	4	8	47
(Includes 120 White, 9 Nonwhite)																
Total, All Areas	18	69	78	59	56	34	64	378	11	54	37	59	36	15	19	231



plotted on a census tract map of Los Angeles, and sample census tracts were selected from each of the three areas, Hollywood, Figueroa, and Downtown, according to the number of rooming-houses in the tract, the average rent, and the racial distribution.<sup>3</sup>

Each rooming-house in the census tracts selected was visited, and each resident present was asked to answer a questionnaire. Some rooming-house proprietors refused admittance to the interviewers, and some rooming-house residents were not at home or refused to be interviewed. The resident-refusals represented about 25 per cent of the total approached, seemed evenly distributed between young and old, male and female. The response was best in the poorest economic area (the Downtown area, and here it was better for Negroes than for Whites), and poorest in the Hollywood area. The primary reasons for non-response were: (1) interference with present plans—"just going out," "going to sleep;" (2) infringement of rights or privacy—"it's nobody's business;" (3) inability to speak English. A subsample of houses was visited two and three times in order to interview first-time absentees.

The seventy-question questionnaire was originally given to each respondent to fill out, but difficulties arose through omissions or misunderstood questions, and after the first few interviews all questionnaires were read to the respondents. Some of the questions were adjusted to the type of respondent. For example, the sex questions were usually introduced to women over forty in a more circuitous fashion than to the rest of the sample.

Six interviewers conducted the survey, and each interview took from forty-five minutes

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bachelor hotel, public club or private club, containing six or more guest rooms, and which is occupied, or is intended or designed for occupation by six or more guests." *State Housing Act of California*, Division 13, Part One, Chapter One, No. 15020.

Tenants living in rooming-houses with less than six guests are not considered part of the rooming-house population.

<sup>3</sup> Median gross rent and racial distribution statistics were from the United States Census, 1940.

to one hour and a half. It was early discovered that undergraduate interviewers, unless subjected to more intensive interviewing training than the study could afford, were not very successful. Most of the six-hundred successful interviews were conducted by three interviewers.

Each person interviewed was told that the study was anonymous and confidential, that the general purpose of the survey was to find out what kind of people live in hotels and rooming-houses, how they spend their time, whether they are happy or unhappy, and what they want out of life. The responses most difficult to get were on the sex questions, which were the most personal. (The largest non-response on any sex question was 19 per cent in Hollywood, 10 per cent Downtown.) The sex questions were inserted in the middle of the questionnaire, and not easily discovered by those interviewees who wanted to scan the questionnaire to "see what it was all about" before the interview began, but were usually asked at the end, after sufficient rapport had been built up. If a person still refused to answer the sex questions, the rest of the interview data was not then lost.

The study suffered from the fact that it had no institutional backing. A study conducted under the auspices of a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago was not as impressive to the Los Angeles rooming-house population as the sponsorship of some well-entrenched local institution would have been. This was especially important in view of some of the highly personal questions.

There were several cross-checks among the questions to get at internal consistency. If the interviewer did not discover such inconsistencies during the interview, he tried to get the information needed on a return trip. If this was impossible or impractical, the interview was discarded. Except for the question on voting in the 1948 presidential election, it was not possible to check the reliability of answers through comparison with outside data.

The questionnaire was pretested on a group of thirty residents of a rooming-boarding house.

## HYPOTHESES

The basic hypotheses of the study were:

The Los Angeles rooming-house universe is a bifocal universe with regard to the levels of aspiration and achievement of its members.

The "upper" rooming-house periphery of Hollywood, in the shadow of a highly competitive industry, reveals the great disparity between aspiration and achievement typical of an individualistic, competitive society. There are, on the one hand, the strongly personalized success ideals introjected into group members; there are on the other hand, the personal and institutional blocks to accomplishment. No single method seems available for resolving this divergence.

In the "lower" rooming-house periphery of the Downtown slums, success aspirations are almost solely economic. Preoccupation with the economic leaves little time for measurement of self-achievement and its attendant social-psychological difficulties.

The Los Angeles rooming-house universe, whether "upper" or "lower," is a universe of anonymous transients, not rooted for long to any object, either job, family, home, church, club, or friend.

No attempt is made to establish a causal relationship between rooming-house living and social, economic, or psychological characteristics of the inhabitants. Presumably a self-selection of residents is involved in the seeking of living quarters: first, in a rooming-house area, and second, in a specific rooming-house district.

## THE HOLLYWOOD ROOMING-HOUSE

Hollywood rooming-house aspirations and values are usually the institutional ones. Its residents consider themselves to be actors or writers, moral women, self-sacrificing mothers, though their surroundings, actions, and achievement may belie their words. Occupationally, they aspire to professional status. One-fourth of the employed men in the Hollywood rooming-house area are in domestic service jobs—waiters, chefs, bartenders—another fourth are clerical, and a third fourth are in professional positions.<sup>4</sup> Although only one-fourth of the men have

a professional rating on their present job if employed, on their past job if unemployed, 80 per cent of these men would like to be professionals. The domestic service and clerical jobs are regarded as temporary sops or stepping-stones to a professional career.

In the "upper" (Hollywood) rooming-house area, most residents hold tenaciously to their aspirations, come destitution or moral delinquency. The Hollywood young resolve the disparity between the ideal and the actual by painting a roseate self-portrait of the future. By the Hollywood old, the discrepancy is resolved either through the self-delusion that aspirations are being achieved or by the search for some antidote to despair.

The young (under forty) Hollywood unattached male rooming-house resident, temporarily employed as a waiter, bartender, or clerk while he attends school or looks diligently for professional work, can still attribute the disparity between high aspiration and meager achievement to his youth. His values and aspirations are those bequeathed by his middle-class heritage—his father was a professional man, semi-skilled worker or small proprietor in a northern city.<sup>5</sup> He is not a frequent church-goer, and rarely attends club meetings. But he retains the middle-class values and aspirations despite the paucity of present institutional ties. He is studying for radio broadcasting while doing "restaurant work," he says, because he has no intention of being stuck down in the "common labor category."

There is the aspiring female Berkeley graduate, a secretary and free-lance radio writer who complains of her meddling room-

<sup>5</sup> Hollywood rooming-house residents come predominantly from the North, Downtown residents from the South. Seventeen per cent of Hollywood group were born in the East North Central states, 14 per cent in the Middle Atlantic states, 13 per cent in the West North Central, and 12 per cent in the Pacific. In contrast, 40 per cent of the Downtown residents were born in the West South Central states, 10 per cent in the Pacific states, and 9 per cent in the East South Central states.

About one out of every four Hollywood rooming-house residents comes from a city of 500,000 or over. Downtown, one out of every four comes from a locality under 2,500 in population.

<sup>4</sup> The base for all percentages or proportions is total responses to the question.

mates in a fashionable women's hotel. "I prefer being alone," she maintains, "and it's almost impossible in a place like this. I can't concentrate on my thoughts, and since my future depends on the manuscripts I can now produce, it makes me unhappy. I don't want to get married until I can prove myself a success or failure."

The Hollywood young live by their goals and values, and there is no necessity at present of balancing goal against accomplishment. Conflicts do not arise out of diversity of aim or out of the contrast between the ideal and the actual, but from the imponderable environmental obstacles in reaching the ideal.

The Hollywood old are experiencing the inner torment of the enormous discrepancy between aim and realization. They react by self-delusion on the one hand, by self-recognition and consequent despair or an attempt at spiritual regeneration on the other.

The barn-like atmosphere of a third-rate Hollywood hotel gives visual proof of the degradation that comes to the cast-offs in viciously competitive Hollywood. In his own eyes, the inhabitant is not the fifty-nine-year-old "maintenance man" in this obsolescent hotel-rooming-house but the movie star who once earned \$850 a week, who started acting at the age of two, came to Los Angeles with a contract from Universal in 1909, and is now the double for . . . . ., a well-known actor, who, he says matter-of-factly, "is the heaviest drinker I've ever known. What would they do if something happened to him. That's why they watch me like a hawk." If he were to begin all over again, he would want to become an actor. "You can't take an actor away from his business."

Self-delusion is not only a prerogative of the Hollywood old. What appears to be delusion, however, may be a recognition of conflict with institutional values—in the example below, the value placed on the moral woman—so that even on an anonymous questionnaire survey the truth is concealed. There is the young girl from Oslo who is living in a decrepit hotel with another

woman's husband—she, the husband-dancer, and a dog in one dishevelled room.<sup>6</sup> She calls him, after a slight hesitation, her own husband, and proceeds to discuss with equanimity the works of Comte, Spencer, Nietzsche, and Tolstoy, her own reading habits, her philosophical ideas on the suppression of communism. Her "husband-dancer" enters in the midst of the interview and tells her she needn't answer if she prefers not to, whereupon he disappears with the canine roommate.

The recognition of the disparity between desire and attainment may result either in despair or in some sort of self-regeneration. Self-despair is evident in the actions of the doting, self-sacrificing widowed mother of a prodigal son who, thwarted in her efforts to achieve her Oedipean aspirations, sinks into the lost-sheep category. She has given up her home to come to California and be of assistance to her male heir, but the intrusion of a daughter-in-law prevents closer proximity than a lonely hotel. She is a novitiate in rooming-house life and is still bound by institutional living. She is Protestant and attends church frequently, has many home town ties and writes and receives several personal letters a week. She is fairly well-educated, and is articulate in her venomous rantings against her daughter-in-law. Does she think communism should be outlawed in this country? "One should say Russians. I think all the Russians should be outlawed. My daughter-in-law is Russian, and if they're all like that, God help us!" Her worries? "Where am I going to live; I have a daughter-in-law, you know. And the grandest son in the world." Her goals? "I'm a lost sheep, lost in a fog."

Self-regeneration is exemplified by the little old widowed man of Revolutionary stock, schooled in Berlin and Florence, who lives in the back of a middle-class Hollywood hotel, his "flea-trap" he calls it, and whose life revolves around his membership in Alcoholics Anonymous. Its meetings he attends three, four, and five times a week.

<sup>6</sup> Her identity was revealed in interviews with other residents of the same hotel.

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## THE DOWNTOWN ROOMING-HOUSE

In the "lower" (Downtown) rooming-house area, incomes are low, whole families eat and sleep in a single room, man and woman cohabit and races commingle. There is no Hollywoodian inner torment because of disparity between achievement and aim. Over 80 per cent of the Downtown employed males are now working as chefs, waiters, bartenders or semiskilled or unskilled laborers. Downtown men say they would like to be either professionals (30 per cent), operatives (28 per cent), or craftsmen (26 per cent).<sup>7</sup> But the desire to attain professional or other higher-than-present status seems usually more a fanciful day-dream than a conscious striving. The Downtowners exhaust their energies struggling for existence. They have little left to struggle for status. Inner torment is a luxury which only those above the level of economic subsistence can afford. Aims, if any, are economic ones: a job, a larger pension, an extra room, a place to sleep, a house.<sup>8</sup> And after economic goals come those of sex.

The prime goal for 39 per cent of the Downtown rooming-house residents is job and money. While these are also the main goals for the typical Hollywood rooming-house resident, the Downtowner has a different conception of his goal. The Downtown truck-loader would be happy to receive training for some semiskilled industrial occupation, the Hollywood bus-boy aspires to be an eminent actor or playwright.

Better housing is an important aspiration for the residents of the overcrowded Downtown tenements. Eighteen per cent regard it as their major goal, 19 per cent as second

<sup>7</sup> Eighty-six per cent of the employed Negro women are domestic servants, and 40 per cent of all Negro women, employed and unemployed, would like to begin again as nurses.

<sup>8</sup> The average weekly wage of the Hollywood employed rooming-house resident is \$50; Downtown it is \$40. From this weekly wage, Hollywood residents pay \$10 for rent, Downtown residents pay \$8.00. The women in both areas pay higher rents than do the men. The median weekly rent for Hollywood males is \$8.60; for Hollywood females, \$11.20. For Downtown men, the median is \$7.25; for Downtown women it is \$9.00.

most important. By Hollywood rooming-house residents, the desire for new housing is usually subordinated to other aspirations—only 5 per cent regard it as their major goal.

"I've been in one room so long, if I just had two I'd feel better," mumbles a Downtown Louisianan Negro in her forties, who lives with her husband and ten-year-old adopted daughter in one room.

"Got to have an apartment before my baby comes," candidly remarks the unmarried female in her twenties who has recently attended a Texas college and is now living in Los Angeles with her boy friend. (All Downtown females are not so candid about sex. One unattached Negro female claims that she has no sex relations, but is not perturbed when, some minutes later, a male friend opens the door to her room with his key and hangs his coat in the closet, half-filled with male attire.)

Goal? "A place to sleep tonight," says the hobo, who sits with his two pals in the sparsely furnished room. Already packed, they are leaving momentarily to ride the rails for an undetermined destination. The most articulate of the three is an unemployed lumberman in his forties, divorced three years, with two children. He is a high-school graduate, and his mother has been postmistress of the small Iowan town from which he comes, he pridefully admits. He has no sex life, frequents the bar-rooms several times daily, is lonely.

A preoccupation with pension legislation takes the time of the sixty-seven-year-old crippled ex-salesman, divorced fifteen years. His life revolves around the Citizen's Committee for Old Age Pensions. His answers are laconic at first, but relaxation sets in when he realizes that the interviewer does not represent the government, national, state, or local. What time is free from pension matters, eating, and sleeping, he devotes to sex, has white, Mexican, and Negro women two or three times a month.

"I'm a professional gambler," a Negro in his thirties brazenly remarks and scrutinizes the interviewer's face for some evidence of righteous indignation. Money, cards, and craps are his interest, and in



that order. Marriage comes only after "the big bank roll." He has been in Los Angeles "on and off" since the war, the "off's" presumably spent in jail.

To buy a house for her son and herself is the aspiration of the pretty thirty-year-old Japanese girl born in Santa Ana, who has spent much of her childhood in Japan. Married just a few months before being sent to an internment camp, she lived with her husband about a year and a half, later divorced him, has had little sexual intercourse. "We slept together, lots of people in one room," she said mournfully. She is now a seamstress in a factory, earns \$27 a week, and is a fond mother of one son of early school age. Mother and son radiate happiness, find complete solace in one another. Both leave the rooming-house the same time in the morning, return the same time at night, she from work, he from an American and then a Japanese school. "I'm not going with men because I don't want to teach him about those things," she says.

Then there are the goal-less individuals. A middle-aged Mexican separated from his wife and two children for over five years, unemployed, sick, without any formal education, dejected, hopeless, mopes around. The Japanese male, over sixty, born in Japan, separated from his wife over ten years, she having gone back to Japan. His goals? "Somebody kill me, any time, I don't care, but I don't kill myself." A white male over sixty, a former painter, separated from his wife for over ten years, regarded as his goal the getting of an old-age pension and "sitting on this porch until I die."

The sixty-seven-year-old former pantry man in a Figueroa rooming-house, who has no religion, never had a wife, has no worries and no goals. "I'm living on borrowed time, and I don't care how much longer it lasts." Also the Figueroa seventy-three-year-old University of Nebraska alumnus with a thirty-year army career behind him. A widower with four children, his only worry, that "my government check doesn't get here on time;" his only goal, to "settle down and do nothing."

Constant crises recur to relieve the drab-

ness of economic struggle or desultory living. In one rooming-house on a Saturday afternoon an irate husband chops open the door of his room with a hatchet, an unmarried pregnant woman tells a tale of woe, and a big-time racketeer collects his henchmen across the street.

In contrast with the individualism, the will-to-become of the Hollywoodian rooming-house resident, the Downtowner is satisfied to follow, herd-like. Views and lack of views on communism make this herd-complex apparent.<sup>9</sup> Some Downtowners never remember having heard of the term communism; it brings no associations, neither of country nor concept.

"Doesn't mean anything to me; they ain't supposed to be any good, are they?" queries a Mexican male, under twenty, who had gone to school as far as the eighth grade. Communism means common sense to a Negro female in her thirties, who has attended less than eight years of school. "Maybe it means Catholicism," says a twenty-four-year-old unemployed Mexican construction worker, who has also gone to school less than eight years.

"No, I don't know what communism is; it seems that every one who is for the common people is called communist," remarks an unemployed Negro of thirty, separated from his wife and four children in New Orleans. A Japanese girl looks up "communism" in her Japanese-American dictionary. "Oh, Bolshevism. No. This country has to be a democracy."

While there may be no association of communism with any particular country, the connotation of an horrendous force is sometimes conjured up. "Communists believe in

<sup>9</sup> Sixty-eight per cent of the Downtown females, 36 per cent of the Downtown males have no opinion as to whether or not communism should be outlawed in the United States. Only about 18 per cent of Hollywood residents express no opinion. Among those rooming-house residents who give an opinion, approximately 75 per cent, both in Hollywood and Downtown, believe that communism should be outlawed.

A "yes" or "no" answer on the outlawry of communism does not necessarily imply any knowledge of the subject.

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six or seven people living in one room," thinks a Negro warehouse laborer in his twenties, a high-school graduate, married, with one child. "Communism means someone is dictating something," says a Negro freight-handler on the Southern Pacific, who didn't go as far as the eighth grade, is now separated from his wife and three children. "Communism means trying to get the best of each other, something to do with different countries," remarks an Indian male of twenty-five, a landscape gardener living with his common-law wife.

Communism is sometimes conceived as a superior-inferior relationship not between countries but between Negro and White. "If you're white, I'm colored, and I think I'm better than you, that's communism," says a Negro man in his forties who handles lumber in a lumber yard. Married, with four children, he didn't finish the eighth grade.

To another Negro, the question of communism leads to another digression on discrimination. "I was in Murmansk with the Navy in 1942. They don't have any discrimination there. I don't think they should discriminate against you because your color is black," says the thirty-year-old Georgian, divorced five years, a Negro who is almost anti-Negro. He was a barber in the Service and got so used to cutting white people's hair, he doesn't care to work in a "colored" shop. "The women here in the house may be my color, but they're not my type," he declares.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The Hollywood responses to the question of the outlawry of communism show greater familiarity with the term than do responses Downtown. A few typical "yes" responses in Hollywood:

"I fought for four years to preserve democracy and the American way and I'm sure communism is fatal to the freedom we enjoy each day."

"I do not believe that communism in the ideal sense of the term is possible anywhere."

"The stronger it gets, the harder it will be if they did want to outlaw it."

Several "no" replies:

"Outlawry leads to more outlawry."

"As long as our constitution says that this land enjoys freedom of speech, there should be no curtailing of any beliefs regardless of how wrong that belief may be."

Among the six-hundred rooming-house residents interviewed, only one expressed strong Marxist leanings. A fifty-year-old married precision machinist in the Figueroa area who had attended a Catholic college muses that communism is as old as this world. Not a bogey, but a practical philosophy. He is not happy about our economic and political system—millions of people unemployed, billions of dollars spent for armaments. He has no goals, since "ninety-nine per cent" of his goals would not be possible under this economic system. "Sex" seems a tabu word for him; he becomes tense, annoyed, and adamant at the sex questions in the questionnaire.

Several other rooming-house residents, though not so vociferous about their inclinations, show partiality toward communism. A Figueroan male in his late twenties, now attending college, comments: "It couldn't be any more corrupt than our present form of government. It's not the form; it's just the people who run it. Communism has survived all this time, so it must be good." And a Figueroan female in her sixties, born in Moscow, admits to having been a Communist, is non-committal on her present views. "Things are too topsyturvy now to say."

Here in the Downtown rooming-house area, people with little education, frequently unemployed, eke out a drab existence. They know there is a better life and while they have neither the persistence nor the astuteness to get it themselves, they will mull along with the highest bidder. Here lie vast potentialities for the mob psychologist, easy prey for the public opinion mobilizer and the demagogue.

#### COMMON CHARACTERISTICS

Psychological and social differences between Hollywood and Downtown rooming-house residents do not obscure similarities.

"Driving it underground completely can do more harm."

And a young Hollywood waitress with "no opinion":

"I don't know the complete communistic idea. Opinions I've heard are so biased."

Whether Hollywood or Downtown, there is an aura of impermanence about rooming-house living, few "roots in the soil." This impermanence is reflected in the frequent absence of family, church, or voluntary group ties, in the transiency of a residence, a friend, a next-door neighbor, a job.

Only one out of five of the sample of rooming-house residents in Hollywood is married, about one out of three in Downtown Los Angeles, with married couples and several children Downtown sometimes occupying a single eating-sleeping-living room. (It is not known what proportion of the marriages is common law.) One-fourth of Downtown residents are separated or divorced, one-fifth in Hollywood. About 8 per cent in each area are widowed. And slightly over half of Hollywood residents are single, about 30 per cent Downtown.

Rooming-house residents are not frequent church-goers. Only 35 per cent of the Hollywood rooming-house inhabitants attended church services more than ten times during the year ending in the spring of 1949, 49 per cent of the rooming-house inhabitants in Downtown Los Angeles. The larger attendance Downtown is attributable to the church-going activity of the Negro, 58 per cent of whom attended more than ten times during the one-year period. Church absence among rooming-house residents contrasts with their regular attendance as children—77 per cent of Hollywood and 92 per cent of Downtown rooming-house residents attended church at least once a week during childhood.<sup>11</sup>

Most rooming-house residents seldom attend meetings. Three-fourths of rooming residents in Hollywood and 90 per cent Downtown attended no club meetings during the 1949 spring month they were interviewed.

Long-term, steady friendships are rare in the rooming-house world. Among the

young unmarried men, sixty per cent in Hollywood and 45 per cent Downtown do not have a woman friend they call "steady." Of those who do have such a friend, the friendship has usually been maintained for less than a year. Among the over-forty unmarried men, three out of four in Hollywood, six out of seven Downtown do not have a steady friend. About 50 per cent of the unmarried women under forty, both Downtown and in Hollywood, have "steady" friends, and about one-half the time these friendships have existed less than one year.

Downtown rooming-house residents have fewer associations through personal correspondence than do Hollywood residents. Nine per cent Downtown, 23 per cent in Hollywood write over twelve personal letters monthly. And 28 per cent Downtown, 11 per cent in Hollywood write no personal letters at all. Twenty-three per cent in Hollywood, 10 per cent Downtown receive over twelve personal letters a month. Conversely, only 8 per cent in Hollywood, 24 per cent Downtown receive no personal letters.

Nor does a job offer permanence. Among the males under forty, the unemployment rate in Hollywood is thirty-three per cent. Downtown it is 42 per cent (and approximately the same for White, Negro, Latin American, and Oriental). These high rooming-house rates can be compared with a 10.7 per cent rate in Los Angeles county in April 1949.<sup>12</sup>

High rates of unemployment are apparently not an unusual rooming-house occurrence. During the two years ending in the spring of 1949, 34 per cent of the Hollywood men under forty were unemployed more than five months, as were 57 per cent of the Downtown men under forty.

A place of residence is usually regarded as offering only temporary shelter. Sixty-nine per cent of the Hollywood rooming-house residents and 50 per cent of those Downtown lived in two or more places during the twelve months preceding the spring

<sup>11</sup> Fifty per cent of Hollywood and 64 per cent of Downtown rooming-house residents are Protestant. Another 25 per cent in Hollywood, somewhat less Downtown are Catholic, and 10 per cent in Hollywood, slightly less Downtown say they have no religion.

<sup>12</sup> Source: California Department of Employment. The rate represents the number of unemployed as a per cent of the labor force.



of 1949. Male and female rooming-house residents are equally transient within the city, and, as expected, the young are more transient than the old.<sup>13</sup>

Both Hollywood and Downtown rooming-house residents have few debts, few savings. Two-thirds in Hollywood, three-fourths Downtown say they owe nothing to family, friends, banks or other institutions. Eleven per cent in Hollywood, 7 per cent Downtown owe \$300 or more. Rooming-house residents are for the most part neither home nor car owners, two customarily heavy items of consumer indebtedness. Thirty-four per cent of the Hollywood rooming-house residents have an automobile, only 10 per cent Downtown.

In Hollywood 50 per cent of the respondents, Downtown 71 per cent, have no savings. Savings between \$300 and \$2500 are possessed by 20 per cent in Hollywood, 17 per cent Downtown. And 10 per cent in Hollywood, 1 per cent Downtown say their savings amount to more than \$2500. The question on amount of savings elicited a large non-response ratio in Hollywood, with 18 per cent in this area, only 3 per cent Downtown, refusing to state the amount of their savings. (The largest non-response on any sex question was 19 per cent in Hollywood, 10 per cent Downtown.)

Other features of similarity are evidenced between Hollywood and Downtown rooming-house residents. There appear to be few sexual restraints on the unmarried male rooming-house population. The proportion of unmarried rooming-house men under forty years of age having sexual intercourse is 96 per cent Downtown, 87 per cent in Hollywood.<sup>14</sup> Among the unmarried male

rooming-house residents under forty, 58 per cent in Hollywood and 87.5 per cent of the Downtown Orientals have sexual intercourse once or twice a month. Once a week is the average for Downtown whites and Latin Americans, and twice a week or more is the frequency for 69 per cent of the Downtown Negroes. The partner is usually either a "steady" friend or a casual acquaintance. If the rooming-house male is an Oriental or Latin American, he more often frequents a house of prostitution. A smaller percentage (forty-five per cent Downtown) of the unmarried men over forty years old engage in sexual relations.

Among the unmarried Hollywood females under forty, about 35 per cent say they have had sexual intercourse during their "unmarried" period. Seventy-two per cent of the Downtown unmarried women under forty make this admission. The higher proportion Downtown may be due either to greater participation in sexual relations or to freer admission of participation. Both in Hollywood and Downtown the sex partner is usually considered to be a "steady" friend. Of those unmarried women under forty living Downtown who engage in sexual relations, the frequency of such relations for 40 per cent is once or twice a month or less; for 32 per cent, it is two or more times a week. In Hollywood, the modal frequency is once a week.<sup>15</sup>

Rooming-house residents generally show little curiosity about the state of the world. While 70 per cent of the Downtown rooming-house residents and 72 per cent in Hollywood say they read a newspaper at least once a day, their knowledge of and participation in political events is meager.<sup>16</sup> During

who comprise about two-thirds of the unmarried group in Hollywood, one-half Downtown.

<sup>15</sup> There is no check on the reliability of the answers to the sex questions (other than through internal consistency). It was the feeling of the interviewers that the men tended to exaggerate, the women to minimize, their sexual prowess.

<sup>16</sup> The proportion of readers is higher for males than for females. Seventy-six per cent of the Hollywood males and 65 per cent of the females admit to reading the newspaper at least once a day. The Downtown proportions are 73 per cent for males, 65 per cent for females.

<sup>13</sup> Many Hollywood rooming-house residents are recent in-migrants. Forty-two per cent in Hollywood have lived in Los Angeles less than one year. Fifty-five per cent of the Downtown residents sampled have lived in Los Angeles from two to ten years. Many of these Downtown residents, especially the Negroes, are wartime in-migrants, attracted by war industries.

<sup>14</sup> The "unmarried" category for which statistics are given includes those whose marital status is single, separated, divorced, or widowed. Similar data are available for the "single" group alone,



a period when news about the Dutch military occupation of Indonesia made frequent headlines, 91 per cent Downtown and 69 per cent in Hollywood did not know what country Holland had occupied. And only 9 per cent Downtown, 20 per cent in Hollywood, knew that Vishinsky was the then Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union. Many regarded the asking of the question an indication of communist sympathy on the part of the interviewer.

Forty per cent Downtown, 38 per cent in Hollywood had voted in the last presidential election. The great majority said they voted for Truman—82 per cent Downtown, 69 per cent in Hollywood. The Wallace rooming-house vote was 6 per cent Downtown, 3 per cent in Hollywood.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> A comparison of the Downtown sample figures with the actual vote in the area (occupied almost entirely by rooming-house residents) shows

This kaleidoscopic survey of the tense, competitive and individualistic rooming-house residents of Hollywood on the one hand, the economically and culturally impoverished Downtown inhabitants on the other, seems to reveal with at times almost microscopic intensity some of the predominant features of modern urban society—its rootlessness and ruthlessness, its economic poverty amid plenty, and the imbalance between the aspiration and achievement of its inhabitants. Its focus is one-sided: the rooming-house seems to point up only the conflict situations—whether they be socio-economic or social-psychological—of a secular society.

the Truman vote in this sample to be about 15 per cent too high, the Wallace vote to be about 5 per cent too low. This discrepancy may be due either to the bias of the sample or to the bandwagon answers on voting in the sample questionnaire, given about five months after the election.

## ROMANTIC LOVE

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THE rise of the divorce rate, viewed as a threat to the marital institution, has led sociologists and psychologists to examine more closely current practices in marital selection. Owing to the emotional atmosphere surrounding this subject, however, the eagerness to provide an antidote has sometimes engendered premature conclusions. In particular has it become fashionable to point to "romantic love" as the villain in the picture. De Rougemont,<sup>1</sup> for instance, calls romance "a fever" and "a passing fancy" that is "the principal reason . . . for the growing number of divorces." A similar point of view is presented in several media intended for education in family and marital relations.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> D. de Rougemont, "The Crisis of the Modern Couple," in R. N. Anshen, *Family, Function, and Destiny*, New York: Harpers, 1949, Chap. 16.

<sup>2</sup> H. Bowman, "This Charming Couple," 16mm. motion picture, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950.

Contrary to such verdicts, the hypothesis is here advanced that

(1) courtly love and its derivative, romantic love, are not identical with puppy love,<sup>3</sup> but are expressions of a socio-psychological process that aims at the reconciliation of basic human needs with frustrating social conditions;

(2) in this function romantic love has not only not harmed the relationship of the sexes but has enhanced the status of women and softened the impact on the marital union of factors that endanger the ideological basis of this and related institutions without providing substitute values.

Three phases of formalized love are discernible in Western culture. The first encompasses the origin of courtly love in the twelfth century, the second its revival at

<sup>3</sup> E. W. Burgess and H. J. Locke, *The Family*, New York: American Book Co., 1950.

the turn of the nineteenth century, and the third its present state and significance for marital selection.

The first phase is called courtly love, *l'amour de lonh* (distant love), or *minne*, and many literary documents, poems, and epics depict its form and the feelings involved. The history and practices of courtly love have been described by Folsom,<sup>4</sup> Gleichen-Russwurm,<sup>5</sup> Vedel<sup>6</sup> and others. We can thus confine ourselves to summarize merely the points essential to the present discussion.

Courtly love was the conventionalization of a new ideal that arose in the feudal class and institutionalized certain aspects of the male-female relationship *outside marriage*. In conformity with the Christian concept of and contempt for sex, the presupposition for *minne* was chastity. Being the spiritualization and the sublimation of carnal desire, such love was deemed to be impossible between husband and wife. By application of the religious concept of abstract love to the "mistress," the married woman of the ruling class, who had lost her economic function, was endowed with higher and more general values: gentleness and refinement. Unselfish service to the noble lady became a duty of the knight, explicitly sworn to in the oath the young nobleman had to take at the dubbing ceremony.<sup>7</sup> Part of this service was ritualized; by means of such formalization the aggressiveness of unfulfilled cravings was channeled into codes and causes. In this manner sexual covetousness was deflected and the marital rights of husbands were—theoretically at least—safeguarded. This was obviously an important provision in an age in which social rules prevented free choice of a mate for mar-

riage with the result that basic human needs were left unsatisfied.

Courtly love—in retrospect called romantic love—consequently was not a whimsical play. In spite of the surface appearance of its aesthetic formulation, it sprang from vital needs, from a deeply felt desire for the ennoblement of human relations, and from culture-bred frustrations. It made *māze* (moderation) a masculine virtue.

The fact that it is in the first place the sexual drive that was frustrated in this love relationship suggests an analogy with adolescent love. We can assume that certain features in the development of an adolescent brought up in an earlier phase of our culture coincide with tendencies observable nowadays. Those produced by the physiological maturation of the organism, for instance, are universal, and medieval literature gives some evidence of the emotions involved in self-discovery and the experience of change at this age.<sup>8</sup>

While the sexual drive rises to its greatest intensity during adolescence, it is denied satisfaction. Abstinence and celibacy being among the highest religious ideals and sexual immorality being threatened with hellfire, conflicts are created that lead to feelings of guilt, depreciation of the ego, and a heightening of the ego ideal. The phantasy is quickened and the suppression of the intensified desires results in a high emotionality which seeks for vicarious outlets.<sup>9</sup> While sexual relations cannot be established before marriage, there is sufficient erotic stimulation from talk, from visual stimuli, and an occasional trespassing with females outside one's class to feed the hope for more. Unless hope is realized or relinquished, the adolescent strains his resources to impress any members of the opposite sex and one female in particular whose behavior allows anticipation of possible acceptance. The

<sup>4</sup> J. K. Folsom, *Family and Democratic Society*, New York: Wiley, 1943.

<sup>5</sup> A. von Gleichen-Russwurm, *Kultur und Sittengeschichte aller Zeiten und Völker*, Zurich: Gutenberg Verlag, 1920.

<sup>6</sup> V. Vedel, *Mittelalterliche Kulturideale, Natur und Geisteswelt*, Leipzig, 1916.

<sup>7</sup> "Monumenta Germaniae" (leges II, 363) in E. Sturtevant, *Vom guten Ton im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, Berlin: Bong, 1917.

<sup>8</sup> Chretien de Troyes, *Percival* (Conte del graal); Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*; Hartmann von Aue, *Der arme Heinrich*; Wirnt von Gravenberg, *Vigalois*.

<sup>9</sup> K. C. Garrison, *The Psychology of Adolescence*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950; A. H. Arlitt, *Adolescent Psychology*, New York: American Book Co., 1933.

means are display of masculine skill and prowess which, under the influence of religious teachings, the group code, and the masculine ideal, are subordinated to socially acknowledged causes or such feats as can be interpreted as good causes. The striving to prove one's independence and manliness finds expression in the search for adventures. The female, being at the same time the weaker competitor, the object to be obtained, and the substitute for the mother, grows to be the ideal audience and the representative for the super-ego; this has the effect that softer virtues often take precedence over coarser forms of behavior. While, in general, the adolescent does not aim at permanent possession of the female, any sign of approval by her is interpreted as acceptance and props up the wavering self-esteem. For this service she is idealized; even the refusal of sexual gratification is taken as an indication of greater self-control and moral strength. Such greatness, on the other hand, reflects favorably on the quality of the one accepted, who tries to live up to moral perfection and thus to the beloved's assumed higher standard. Vows of self-improvement alternate with feelings of unworthiness and moments of expansive self-feeling.

The adolescent's showing-off attitude has its counterpart in the medieval knight's search for adventures and in the tournaments he fought for his mistress. Love tests are frequent. Certain feats like those of Ulrich von Lichtenstein, who sent his little finger to his mistress and drank the water in which she had washed, or of Peire Vidal, who had himself sewn into a bear's hide and hunted,<sup>10</sup> have their parallels in the adolescent's obsessional yearning to impress the chosen female by valiance, self-sacrifice, and self-punishment. As do adolescent relations, courtly love provided partial satisfactions of the sexual desire. The lover having become a *drutz*<sup>11</sup> had the right to

accompany his lady to her bedchamber, to undress her to the skin, and to put her to bed. Sometimes he was even allowed to sleep with her if he promised to content himself with a kiss. The love symbols are similar; the adolescent feels the one-ness with the beloved by wearing a lock of her hair or a ribbon near his heart as the knight felt it when he tied her veil around his armor; and as the mistress wore her gallant's blood-stained shirt so may a girl today wear her boy's pin, blazer, or baseball hat.

Such and many more similarities provoke the conclusion that courtly love represents the aesthetization of adolescent feelings which, though recognized as precious, are rarely experienced in adulthood with the same ardor. Under the influence of the cherished tales of oriental love refinement, the pyre of adolescent emotions was artificially kept burning, producing that subtler form of male-female relations that exploited the elations and depressions of enforced chastity for the ennoblement of the mind and gave the newly consolidated ruling class moral distinction over the crude indulgence of the masses.

The cultural significance of this concept lies in the fact that the idealization of the female initiated her social elevation and that it introduced voluntary fidelity, restraint, and the magnanimous gentleness of the male consciously into the relation between the sexes, qualities that were not considered essential or even possible in a marriage based on the semi-patriarchal concept of the Middle Ages. As the idea spread, it influenced greatly the emotional development of the group as a whole. This penetration became evident when romantic love, the bourgeois adaptation of courtly love, was propagated by the Romanticists.

Presupposing the knowledge of the historic and socio-economic roots of the Romantic movement,<sup>12, 13</sup> we limit ourselves again to an outline of those trends that have direct bearing on our subject.

In formulating the idea of romantic love,

<sup>10</sup> H. Jantzen (ed.), *Dichtungen aus mittel-hochdeutscher Fruehzeit*; Goeschel, 137, Leipzig, 1910.

<sup>11</sup> Gleichen-Russwurm, *op. cit.* The lover who has reached the fourth and highest state in the ritual of courtly love and is accepted.

<sup>12</sup> R. M. Meyer, *Die Literatur des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: Bondi, 1921.

<sup>13</sup> L. Walzel, *Romantik; Natur und Geisteswelt*, Leipzig, 1915, Vols. 232, 233.

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the Romanticists merely propounded a concept that had become a socio-psychological necessity. Starting in the fourteenth century, the dissolution of the broader family had progressed to the point where its economic, religious, and political functions were gone. With increasing urbanization the impact of social isolation made itself felt upon the individual. As a result of industrialization and mercantilization the father's authority had decreased and the children remained longer under the more emotionally-oriented care of the mother, a fact that, together with the child's loss of economic function, effected a gradual change in personality, especially in the male personality. Reformation, revolutions, and wars had shaken the foundations of beliefs and traditions. Being the first to feel the pinch of the technological development on the treasured ideology of individualism, the Romanticists rebelled against the progressing de-humanization, the all-devouring materialism and rationalism, and sought escape from these dangers in the wonders of the emotions. In the basic feelings of humanity they hoped to find security and a substitute for the eliminated cultural values.

Under the increasing discomfort in a changing civilization, the aristocratic class had found a way to alleviate the defects of a family-prescribed monogamous marriage by dividing duty and satisfaction; the woman reserved her loyalty for her husband and her love for her gallant. Continuing on the tracks laid by the concept of courtly love, the nobles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Austria, Spain, France, the Netherlands, etc. still adhered to the tenet that love and marriage were irreconcilable. Yet, love had dropped its cloak of sublimation. The medieval concept had drawn a line between the spiritual and the animalic-sexual, between love and marriage. The court society of the Baroque<sup>14</sup> and the Rococo periods, by rewarding the gallant's deeds and duels with carnal favors, actually integrated sex and love—though only outside marriage. The adaptation noticeable in the ascending bourgeois class followed the same line—inte-

gration of sex and love—with the important difference that their economic struggle, their tradition of thrift, their religious ideas, (which, reformed to further their purposes, gave them moral support in their ultimate contest with the group in power<sup>15</sup>) did not permit them to accept illicit relationships as a solution of the problem. Yet, they had not remained unaffected by the ideology of earthly love. The refined concept had filtered down from the castles to the cities. Marriage, to be sure, was still arranged on a family basis with an eye on business, and the status of the wife was by no means enviable. But the verbiage of courtly love had entered the relation of the sexes. However, it was addressed not to the married woman, but, for the first time, to the marriageable maiden. Of course, this was hardly possible before the betrothal since, as an anonymous writer, Ursula Margareta, wrote in her diary published posthumously in 1805,<sup>16</sup> "the asso-

<sup>16</sup> "Alte und neue Zeit; Taschenbuch zum geselligen Vergnuegen, 1805," reprinted in Sturtevant, *op. cit.*

ciation with the opposite sex was not yet invented then (about 1760) . . . and we were shielded from them as from chicken pox." But during the months between engagement and marriage the betrothed was expected to "court" the girl and to display his emotional fervor in conversation, gifts, and poetry.

Preceded by the English novelist Samuel Richardson (1689–1761), who is credited with having said first that love is needed for marriage, the men of letters of those days pointed out both the immorality of the aristocratic solution and the sterility of the bourgeois pattern. Visualizing love as an antidote to the insecurity produced by social and technological changes, they propagated its legitimization and thus its perpetuation in marriage. The model for the bond between the sexes was the complex of feelings so graciously depicted in medieval romances, and its realization was henceforth called romance or romantic love.

We thus encounter a third stage in the

<sup>14</sup> M. Carrière, "Baroque," in Gleichen-Russwurm, *op. cit.*, vol. 11.

<sup>15</sup> R. H. Tawny, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England, 1938.

development of love relations. The first admitted certain formalized features of adolescent feelings into the adult relationship to bridge the dichotomy between sublimated sex desires and the prevailing sex-hostile ideology; the second justified with love adulterous sex relations to ease the burden of an unreformed monogamy; the third aimed at the integration of love and marriage. It was promulgated by the first spokesmen of the bourgeois culture, who pleaded for the right of the young people to make their own choice for marriage on the basis of their feelings. No longer was there to be a cleavage between the spirituality of love and the marital sex relation, but the latter was to be sanctified by the former. This combination raised—though only ideologically at first—the woman of the middle class to the status which heretofore only the aristocratic lady had achieved in relation to the man.

Like courtly love, the concept of the Romanticists leaned noticeably on adolescent experiences. Though less ritualized than *minne*, romantic love acknowledged the value of certain pre-adult emotions. It established a hierarchy of characteristics that marked predestined affection. Foremost among them was emotional instead of rational evaluation, an attitude that contrasts clearly with the adult behavior normally aspired to, but is typical of adolescence, in which the rational powers do not operate at their optimum. Economic and status considerations were belittled. The female was idealized because of her ('natural') kindness, her intuition, and her nearness to nature. The male conceived of himself as a restless, striving, and erring deviate, spoiled by civilization, who, inspired by the female's love, might find the way back to his better self. This tendency corresponds to the adolescent's moments of magnified feelings of inferiority in the face of the female's greater poise and virtue and the elation when he is accepted nevertheless. While in the romantic concept the adventures of the mind were valued over fighting and fencing, conflict, self-recognition, sensitivity and the preservation of one's "true" and original self were elevated to moral qualities. The

analogy to the adolescent's defensive attitude toward practical adult goals is evident.

The romantic love relationship itself was pervaded by melancholy and *Weltschmerz* (world-woe), another trend that is generally encountered in adolescence when the young person, having severed his emotional ties with his protective elders and craving new attachments, finds himself abandoned and, in comparison with the still child-like ego ideal, inadequate. From the same experience, on the other hand, results the claim to uniqueness and originality. Owing to his maturing mental powers, his broadening experience and knowledge, the adolescent frequently senses suddenly some of the discrepancies between reality and the moral teachings of his group, especially those which are antagonistic to the fulfillment of his desires. In this whirl of contradictions, wishes, rebellious emotions, and thoughts he feels like a castaway or like a revolutionary, chosen for the fight against either the traditions or the temptations, like a hero or like a sinner, full of defiance or full of resolutions to prove himself better than anyone else. Simultaneously proud and afraid of his discoveries, he seeks reassurance, someone to confide to, a companion who confirms the value of his ideas and thus of his personality.

Unable to turn to his parents, who in a quickly changing world are no longer considered revered guides but old-fashioned antagonists, he can find assurance only with a friend who seems to be shaken by similar convulsions and consequently "understands." After a period of homosexual friendships, the social conventions, the ideal of masculinity, and the sex drive usually direct the choice toward heterosexual relations, the same relations whose secrecy, mood of conspiracy, exuberations and depressions were the raw material for romantic love which, minimizing the sexual aspect, introduced friendship between the sexes.

By the end of the nineteenth century love had won its battle along the whole line in the upper sections of the middle class. It has since been regarded as the most important prerequisite to marriage. The American concept that considers individual happiness

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the chief purpose of marriage is based entirely on this ideology.

This fact must, however, not be confused with the allegations that the combination of romance and marriage is a specific American feature<sup>17</sup> or that marriage in this country is influenced to a unique degree by romantic love.<sup>18</sup> Doubtful as such assertions are in the absence of quantitative studies, they tend to create the impression that the majority of marriages are based on romantic love and that there is a deplorable causative relation between this circumstance and the record the United States holds regarding divorce. Actually, while estimates as to the frequency of love as a motive for marriage vary, marital counselors are agreed that love is more often presented as a reason for an intended marriage than feelings and circumstances warrant.

There arises, however, a second question. Is this love identical with the formalized concept of romantic love?

Certainly, the all-pervading melancholy is relatively rare among young adults; the mood of lovers, though still vacillating between joy and depression, is, on the whole, less sentimentally sad and, owing to their greater independence and the diminishing outside interference, is based more often on anticipation of marital joys, cooperation, "having fun together," and pursuit of common interests. As contact between the sexes is freer, partial sexual outlets are frequently provided. And while such activities may still be followed by feelings of guilt, these seem to be greatly attenuated by a presumed necessity caused by a socially cultivated sexual competition. Sex competition, on the other hand, particularly potent among girls, tends to blur the line between the excitations of love and those of an aggressive ambition. As a result of the prevailing dating convention and its concomitant early initiation of the sexes on a social basis, the over-idealization of the female (the keynote in both courtly and romantic love) is curbed. The love conventions of the twelfth and the nine-

teenth centuries were grants made by the man to the female; love in our day and in this country, conversely, has become a demand of the female, who is in the privileged position to extend or withhold sexual favors. Her own desire probably being lessened by culturally necessitated repressions, she frequently uses such favors to reward or stimulate emotional expressions without regard to her own sex drive. Thus it appears that the modern love concept is not identical with romantic love, but is a derivative, modified in concord with the conditions of our age and based more on ego demands than on ideal demands.

But whatever form it takes, love is rarely the only consideration upon which marriage is contracted. Rather, it is one selective factor operating within the controls imposed upon the mates by our culture. These controls involve age, race, religion, ethnic origin, and class,<sup>19</sup> and the thus defined field is furthermore narrowed by regional proximity.

Under these circumstances, to blame love for the failures of marital unions in general is therefore unjustified, especially since a great number of marriages are contracted for reasons other than mutual love. In any case, however, the divorce rate cannot be taken as the sole indication of failure. In blaming its rise on the inadequacy of love as a selective agent, the judges omit several considerations, such as whether marriages contracted for economic or similar reasons do not work out worse and whether every failing marriage ends in divorce. Overlooked also is the fact that divorce is now more generally available than before. What marital life in the leading group looked like before the admission of either love or divorce can be gathered from any studies of the Baroque and Rococo periods. To give but one example: in 1716, Lady Montague<sup>20</sup> wrote that in Vienna every woman of social standing had two men, her husband and her lover. Everyone knew of it and it was a

<sup>17</sup> Burgess, *op. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> F. E. Merrill, *Courtship and Marriage*, New York: Sloane Associates, 1949.

<sup>19</sup> A. B. Hollingshead, "Cultural Factors in the Selection of Marriage Mates," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (Oct. 1950), 619-627.

<sup>20</sup> Carrière, *op. cit.*



serious offense to invite a lady to a party without asking both of her men.

Matters were similar for men in the higher social classes of all civilized countries with the exception of Spain where, in the seventeenth century, a man was said to have three women, his wife for representative purposes, his *manceba* (lady friend) for sexual, and his mistress for aesthetic conversations.<sup>21</sup> Thus, it was obviously not the combination of love and marriage that destroyed marital relations in Western culture.

Rather, the integration of love with marriage is an attempt at adjustment in the light of social concepts that outgrew the inadequate monogamous institution. Undoubtedly, love is not the panacea as which it is sometimes presented. But it is less often the affectionate feeling that hampers the evaluation of the future mate's personality than it is the disregard of personality factors when the determination to get married results in confusing thwarted ambition or feelings of inferiority with love.

As with every institutionalized emotion, a certain amount of pretense is, of course, to be expected. Since love is considered the noblest motive for marriage, many people will profess love even though they have married for different reasons, family pressure, for instance, or material security or betterment of status.

But pretense need not be so evident. Sexual cravings are easily mistaken for love. As a matter of fact, love has attained an exceptional state with regard to sex. It has become the condition that allows the woman to lift the severe sex taboo imposed on her; the implicit supposition is that she may enter a sex relationship only when she is motivated by affectionate feelings. While this requirement is officially waived only when she marries, it frequently serves as an extenuating circumstance when she enters an illicit relationship. She certainly is judged differently when she succumbs to the latter for pecuniary considerations. As a result, the male uses the language and gestures of love to obtain temporarily desired sexual favors, and

the female frequently interprets his "line" as love to avoid losing his attention.

Equally dangerous is self-deception. Especially in early marriages it happens often that undiluted adolescent feelings—such as the relief felt when the need to assert one's power and personality or one's independence, or the desire to escape depressing home restrictions is satisfied—are experienced as love and allowed to determine the selection of the mate. This tendency is greatly augmented since the motion picture industry, innumerable magazines and hack-written novels have undertaken to carry a cheap counterfeit of romantic love to the masses. The heroines of these products do not know of any attraction to a man except overwhelming, unconquerable, unerotic, and absolutely unselfish love that strikes at first sight, breaks down all bars of class or education, unfailingly cures all moral defects and inevitably solves all possible problems when it is transposed into marriage. Identifying herself with these stereotypes the young female movie-goer recognizes similarities between these and her own problems, and longing for the promised elations she views any approaching male under the aspect of marriage—the happy ending of the industry-cultural literary products without any consideration of personality or moral values. Not being able to find the expected miracles in her mild likings, she tries to approximate her models by inflating her meager feelings. By autosuggestion and imitation she can usually convince herself of the unfathomable depth of her affection to anyone who speaks of love.

There is no doubt that such pressure-cooker recipes for happiness do not presage well for marriage. But such immature ideas cannot be blamed on love itself, nor can they minimize the function love has actually attained in selection for marriage. For with the collective aspect of marriage, family coherence, and the economic function of wife and offspring gone, there are no other positive agents left for mate selection except economic factors, sex, and personality assets.

The first, though important, does not guarantee satisfaction in the marital union.

<sup>21</sup> Sturtevant, *op. cit.*

As a matter of fact, the intolerableness of the economic dependence of the female on the male has added impetus to the acceptance of the love concept. In our time, social and economic near-equality has given women sufficient independence to allow most of them a choice. They need not—at least not to the same extent as in former times—accept their husband's will and whim as their lot. With the social control weakened in this respect, only affection or consideration of the children can bind a woman to her husband.

Sex as a selective agent is ineffectual in our culture since the premarital testing of sexual compatibility is interdicted. Instead, the attraction produced by psycho-sexual emotions is taken as an indication of mutual suitability. It does not, of course, fulfill this expectation, but feelings of love, of which this attraction is a part, are the closest substitute for tests. Even so, for the female whose training still compels her to repress all sex-tinged desires, it is, next to the psycho-therapist, only love that helps her to overcome her inhibitions.

Similarly is it true that emotions provide no objective measurement for the future mate's personality. What love does, however, is to satisfy man's most urgent psychological needs, those produced by social isolation, by lack of any conceptual hold on the world in which he lives, and by lack of work satisfaction. Exposed to the high tensions of the modern work day and an unceasing brutal competition, man seeks relief in emotional satisfactions. Of these, few are available outside love. Reduced through technological progress to a negligible nut in an incomprehensible machine, confused by tumbling and contradictory moral values, he can regain the feeling of self-importance only in love. Only here can he find shelter from an inimical world, and, like the medieval knight take off his armor without fear. Only here can he be himself and expect to be accepted in all his imperfection and with all his unfulfilled secret yearnings.

Thus love—and only in connection with it marriage—has become the state from which compensation for all emotional frustrations is expected. True, such high expect-

tations are likely to make the marital union precarious. It is doubtful, however, whether the imperfect remedy can be blamed for the illness. For, the emancipation of the female, her demand for mutuality of sex satisfactions, and the higher educational level of the middle classes have equally contributed to the brittleness of the marital institution. Yet, who would think of doing away with them even if he could?

Nor is it sensible to argue that marriage is irreconcilable with romance because sexual fulfillment and the intimacies of everyday life break down the idealization resulting from the sublimation of the sexual desire. Of course, the burning craving cannot last. But while it is true that the aura of divinity is not habit-resistant, it is also a fact that in a sexually gratifying relationship that has been built on love, that is, on understanding and mutual assistance in emotional conflicts, on moral support and common interests, on mutual confirmation and emotional security—unavailable anywhere else—the chance of creating an atmosphere of loyalty and friendship, tolerance and confidence are greater than in any other.

To summarize: courtly love, romantic love, and their modern derivative should be considered cultural phenomena evolved from basic human feelings that have gradually developed forms useful as replacements for discarded or decaying cultural concepts. Love aims at and assists in the adjustment to frustrating experiences. To measure its effect on marriage it must be judged in its true form and not in poor falsifications. Seen in proper perspective, it has not only done no harm as a prerequisite to marriage, but it has mitigated the impact that a too-fast-moving and unorganized conversion to new socio-economic constellations has had upon our whole culture and it has saved monogamous marriage from complete disorganization.

It is not impossible that with the progressing de-individualization inherent in our industrial orientation, sexual reproduction will some day be entirely divorced from individual personality preferences and based on a scientific biological-eugenic basis. So long,

however, as human society has not taken this ultimate step, love provides one of the few positive factors in mate selection, allowing relief and emotional gratification in the enormous stress of civilization. It is not free of shortcomings; the solution, however, for the alleviation of ills concomitant to any cultural innovation and its integration with

an old unreformed institution cannot be to dissuade young people from love, but only to aid them in the discrimination of those qualities in themselves and the prospective mate which must balance each other to ensure the satisfaction of emotional, sexual, and personality needs and, in so doing, the greater durability of their union.

## DATING THEORIES AND STUDENT RESPONSES

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IN the past decade and a half dating has been given increasing attention in the literature dealing with marriage and the family. Waller's description of the process in 1937 was a powerful stimulus toward scientific recognition of the subject.<sup>1</sup> No college text on marriage or the family, published before that year, has been found—out of a number examined—that lists dating or any of its derivatives in the index. In contrast, of twenty-one of the more prominent texts published since that time two-thirds index the term, some of them in more than one form.

Though dating has gained a place in sociological writings, there is no agreement about its meaning or the social ends it serves. That it is new and peculiarly American seems to be fairly well accepted. On the other hand, what dating is, why it has arisen, the functions it performs, its relationship to courtship, and its bearing on marriage are divergently and at times contradictorily defined. In other words, no agreement on the theory of the dating process has been reached. The purpose of this article is to compare the more distinct theories and to check them in a limited way through inquiry among high school and college students.

Among the most extreme conceptions of

dating is that of Waller.<sup>2</sup> To him dating is a "competitive," "aim-inhibited" form of association between the sexes "in the period of dalliance which intervenes between puberty and mating,"<sup>3</sup> "regarded as amusement" and "largely dominated by the quest of the thrill."<sup>4</sup> It is characterized by effort by each party to deceive the other through a pretense of love and devotion. To the extent that either succeeds in his deception he exploits the other, the girl by obtaining expensive favors, the boy by "thrills from the body of the woman."<sup>5</sup> If in spite of themselves the parties find they are in love with each other, the relationship ceases to be dating and becomes courtship.

The phenomenon of dating, writes Waller, "appears only where there is a large group of young persons who are definitely understood to be postponing marriage."<sup>6</sup> Decay of the traditional mores of courtship "has made possible the emergence of thrill seeking and exploitative relationships," and "it seems curious that most of us are inclined to regard

<sup>1</sup> Willard Waller, "The Rating and Dating Complex," *American Sociological Review*, 2 (October, 1937), 727-734.

<sup>2</sup> Willard Waller, *op. cit.*, and *The Family, A Dynamic Interpretation*, New York: The Cordon Company, 1938, pp. 230-235.

<sup>3</sup> Waller, *The Family, A Dynamic Interpretation*, p. 230.

<sup>4</sup> "The Rating and Dating Complex," *op. cit.*, p. 729.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 728.

<sup>6</sup> *The Family, A Dynamic Interpretation*, p. 235.

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thrill seeking with disapproval."<sup>7</sup> Dating is very different from courtship, is merely a pretense of the traditional relationship, has no bearing on either courtship or marriage. As an interlude it emphasizes a distinctive set of qualities in the selection of a partner, immediate satisfactions arising out of "hedonistic considerations." In contrast, courtship focuses attention on "matters of family and class, of ancestry and economic power."<sup>8</sup> However, "true courtship sometimes emerges from the dating process, in spite of all the forces which are opposed to it."<sup>9</sup>

In the broad social sense Waller finds no useful function that dating serves, nothing that contributes to more successful marriage or greater social well-being. Certain effects on participants from the dating process would undoubtedly be regarded as advantageous by the individuals involved; Waller looks upon many of them as dubious, some as positively injurious. First among these gains to participants is prestige. "Competition for dates . . . determines a distributive order,"<sup>10</sup> and individuals are "extremely conscious of these social distinctions and of their own position in the social hierarchy."<sup>11</sup> Second, dating determines status in one's own sex group. Highest rating comes from dating, and if possible exploiting, those who are near the top in social rank without falling in love. Third, dating is fun. To play the game, to parry blows without becoming emotionally involved, to win over others, is a primary source of satisfaction and enjoyment to those who succeed. Fourth, dating provides thrills. On "the pretense of emotional involvement and its implied commitments"<sup>12</sup> one gains the emotional thrills of love making and courtship, but "the pursuit of the thrill violates the organizational mores

of society. . . . Thrill is akin to vice."<sup>13</sup> Fifth, dating is educational. However, "courtship educates for courtship more than marriage," the attitudes formed will not always "be helpful in either sexual or personal adjustments of marriage."<sup>14</sup> Sixth, the exploitative element in dating is definitely harmful. Injustice arises when meanings are not the same for the two individuals or "when one person deceives the other."<sup>15</sup> Finally, many are injured and thereby hindered from forming the successful marriages they might otherwise have formed. ". . . the capacity to love is permanently injured in many . . . they suffer . . . traumas which permanently interfere with the development of favorable love attitudes and their expression."<sup>16</sup>

This theory of dating has been taken over, seemingly without reference to its origin, by the anthropologists, Margaret Mead and Geoffrey Gorer.<sup>17</sup> They associate it with a supposed American idiosyncratic desire for association and a masculine fear of being considered sissy. Gorer is surprised that dating "is admitted and abetted by parents and teachers who, many of them, hold the puritan attitudes toward sex and the pleasures of the body."<sup>18</sup> Also Mead finds that dating is a barrier to happiness in marriage in that "the more successfully young adolescents deal with the difficult problems of freedom and demanded dating, the less prepared they are" to make successful sex adjustments in marriage.<sup>19</sup>

Much more moderate is Burgess and Locke's conception of dating. They define the term as "a social engagement between two young people with no commitment beyond the expectation that it will be a pleas-

<sup>13</sup> *The Family, A Dynamic Interpretation*, p. 222.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243.

<sup>17</sup> Margaret Mead, *Male and Female*, New York: William Morrow and Company, 1949, pp. 281-295; Geoffrey Gorer, *The American People*, New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1948, pp. 106-132.

<sup>18</sup> Gorer, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>19</sup> Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

<sup>7</sup> "The Rating and Dating Complex," *op. cit.*, p. 728.

<sup>8</sup> *The Family, A Dynamic Interpretation*, p. 235.

<sup>9</sup> "The Rating and Dating Complex," *op. cit.*, p. 733.

<sup>10</sup> *The Family, A Dynamic Interpretation*, p. 231.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 232.

<sup>12</sup> "The Rating and Dating Complex," *op. cit.*, p. 728.

urable event for both." In comparison with traditional courtship they look upon dating as "a widely different view of the association between the sexes. It involves six points: (1) an end in itself, signifying no further necessary involvement; (2) the opportunity of having friendly associations not with just one or two, but with a large number of the opposite sex; (3) an increased range of contacts; (4) a multiplication of the occasions for social engagements; (5) the selection of companions in the hands of youth with the absence or a minimum of parental influence; and (6) rating or the predominance of the standards of the age group in personal selection."<sup>20</sup>

From their treatment of the subject Burgess and Locke seem to regard dating as a distinctive yet preliminary phase of courtship. Even in their discussion of rating they give no emphasis to the insincerity and pretense that occupy such a large place in Waller's analysis. To them rating is not the major end of the process, though for many students "dating becomes a game, an end in itself, the object being to date as many high-ranking persons of the opposite sex as possible."<sup>21</sup> Clearly they consider that dating ends when it comes to involve the same pairing repeatedly. In their words, dating "under certain circumstances is the prelude to keeping company and going steady." However, they somewhat ambiguously refer to this change as a transformation of dating *many* into dating *one*.<sup>22</sup>

The positive nature of the Burgess and Locke conception of dating stands out in the functions they ascribe to it. They do not deny the occasional exploitative nature of the process. They recognize that gaining prestige and enhancing one's social status are frequent motives for individuals to date. At the same time they list four additional and definitely constructive functions of the process. First, dating provides opportunity for friendly association with a large number

of the opposite sex. Second, it permits a wide range and increased number of social contacts and engagements. Third, it gives opportunity for persons to determine compatibility and community of interests before becoming involved emotionally. Last, it broadens an individual's choice of a mate.<sup>23</sup>

An extension of the Burgess-Locke view gives a third and more extreme conception of dating.<sup>24</sup> According to this theory, dating is a gradual, almost unconscious development from the customs of courtship whereby young people obtain the training and experience needed for sensible selection of mates. In other words, it is an educational process by which the young enlarge the probability of a full and rich experience in marriage built upon companionship and affection between equal mates. The need for such training has arisen from the gradual relaxation of parental control and influence in the selection of mates and from increase in freedom whereby individuals make their own choices. The social need for individual selection of mates is augmented by the development of a new form of marriage in which mates are held together as much by affection and community of interest as by social pressure to maintain a traditional institution. As might be expected, dating relationships have not yet been effectively selected to meet adequately the social ends which gave rise to their development. Instead these relationships are, through social inertia, overlaid with the patterns of courtship from which they come, customs which in many respects hinder the social and educational ends of dating.

Contrary to Waller, this view does not regard dating as a time-filler during a period of waiting brought into being by postponement of marriage. Rather it recognizes that the age of marriage has been going down for

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 382-393.

<sup>24</sup> This theory is implied in the current writing that recognizes that dating has social value, though nowhere has it been clearly stated. The author has given partial expression to it in "Education for Marriage," *Survey Midmonthly*, 84 (January, 1948), 15-17, and "Dating, A Neglected Field of Study," *Marriage and Family Living*, 10 (Fall, 1948), 90 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, *The Family*, New York: American Book Company, 1940, p. 382.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 384.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 386.

at least sixty years, the period in which dating has arisen.<sup>25</sup> It looks upon dating as a development due, first, to greater freedom of association between the sexes and, second, to the extension of coeducation.

According to this conception a considerable number of functions of dating can be listed. Outstanding among the gains a developing individual gets from dating are broader experience, enriched personality, greater poise and balance, more and more varied opportunities to mix socially, increased ability to adjust to others under diverse circumstances, reduced emotional excitement on meeting or associating with those of the opposite sex, greater ability to judge individuals of the opposite sex objectively and sensibly, added prestige among those his own age, wider acquaintance, and broader and thereby a sounder choice of a mate.

The definition of dating, according to this educational theory, is different from that of Waller or of Burgess and Locke. Since the word comes from popular usage, its colloquial significance is taken as a primary point of departure. To participants of the present time, dating is the process of paired association between members of the opposite sex before marriage. A first appointment between two teen-age children or the last prearranged meeting of an engaged couple before marriage are both dates. In contrast, Waller's restriction of the term to those who feed each other an insincere "line" while they wait to get old enough to court and marry, has no support in every-day speech. Burgess and Locke's definition of dating as a social engagement between two young persons without further commitment is accurate, particularly for early dating. Indeed there is support for recognizing that *one* meaning of the word is the initial phase of paired sex association, though the distinction is probably found more often in textbooks than in popular usage. Certainly to exclude paired relationships involving love from the term dating is a travesty upon common practice.

Actually the rise of the custom and its

designation as dating seems to have been a response to a need to characterize, on the one hand, a new relationship and, on the other, to reject an old one. Paired sex association without further obligation or commitment was something new and without name. Rejection of the term, courtship, failure to extend it to the new relationship, particularly to the late phases of sex association where it might logically apply, points to the central distinction between courtship and dating, to the reason for the enlargement of the American vocabulary.

By long practice courtship is a social term involving obligation, a kind of chain process which, once initiated, one is under social pressure to carry through to completion in marriage. In Colonial times when a boy asked for permission to call on a man's daughter, he in effect asked for permission to marry her if she would consent. Much more recently a first call by a man on a young woman was a public indication of interest in marriage, and repeated calling was the near equivalent of announcement of an engagement and forthcoming marriage. From its initiation to its end courtship is a public avowal of intent to marry. Back of that avowal, there has long been in America social pressure upon the individual to carry out his commitment.

In contrast, dating is a relationship expressing freedom, lack of commitment or public obligation for any sort of future action. In truth, up to the time of announcement of engagement dating participants have a minimum of accepted responsibility to continue the relationship. Continuation is largely a matter between the two concerned. That is to say, the rise of the term dating is a reflection of the freedom of the young to associate in pairs without others—parents or the community—assuming or insisting that merely because they are dating they have further responsibility to each other or to the community. Such freedom is what distinguishes dating from courtship.

Research concerning these theories of dating is meager. In a study of university students Kirkpatrick and Caplow sought, among other things, to check specific phases of

<sup>25</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Special Reports*, Series P-45, No. 7, May 28, 1945.



Waller's theory.<sup>26</sup> The evidence they secured bears more on relative sex roles and changing standards than on Waller's ideas, and is not at all conclusive about his theory.

As a part of a larger inquiry, the writer asked high school and college students to select anonymously from a list of eight the three reasons for dating which they considered most important. The high school respondents, 782 boys and 813 girls, represented a more than ninety per cent return from the two upper classes of three high schools from cities of eight, twenty, and three-hundred thousand inhabitants. The college group, 203 boys and 181 girls, were those under twenty-two years of age from the three lower classes of a small denominational institution. With slight allowance for variation in small samples, the responses from each of the high schools and from the college were much alike in the reasons

selected and the relative emphasis given to them. Probably responses vary somewhat by age, but the number of cases in the sample is too small to demonstrate the fact clearly.

In Table I the reasons for dating are distributed according to the sex of the respondents. All responses are included, though a small proportion of individuals indicated only one or two, instead of three, reasons for dating. In forming the table the reasons given for dating were rearranged from the haphazard order used in the questionnaires into related groups. Into the first were placed the two reasons that reflect association pointed toward marriage, affection and selection of a mate. These are the reasons most clearly associated with courtship as traditionally conceived. A second group includes those reasons which in statement are frankly educational, "to learn to get along with others" and "to gain poise or ease." The third group includes all the reasons, the remaining four, which in any way reflect the Waller theory of dating as a competitive game, dating "just for fun," "to get to

<sup>26</sup> Clifford Kirkpatrick and Theodore Caplow, "Courtship in a Group of Minnesota Students," *American Journal of Sociology*, 51 (September, 1945), 114-125.

TABLE 1. STUDENT REASONS FOR DATING, ACCORDING TO SEX

Reasons for Dating	Boys		Girls		Total	
	No. of Responses	Per Cent	No. of Responses	Per Cent	No. of Responses	Per Cent
Group I						
Affection	582	27.2	585	24.8	1167	25.9
Select Mate	298	13.9	370	15.7	668	14.9
Subtotal	880	41.1	955	40.4	1835	40.8
Group II						
Learn to Adjust	181	8.5	314	13.2	495	11.0
Gain Poise or Ease	434	20.3	599	25.4	1033	23.0
Subtotal	615	28.8	913	38.7	1528	34.0
Group III						
Fun	174	8.1	188	8.0	362	8.0
Get to Social Affairs	275	12.9	261	11.1	536	11.9
Prestige	67	3.1	33	1.3	100	2.2
Neck	128	6.0	11	0.5	139	3.1
Subtotal	644	30.1	493	20.9	1137	25.2
Grand Total	2139	100.0	2361	100.0	4500	100.0
No. of Students Responding <sup>1</sup>	782	....	813	....	1595	....

<sup>1</sup> Responses from older students were excluded, only those from individuals 16 to 21 years old are shown.

social affairs," for "prestige—to be popular," and "to neck or pet." The purpose of such an arrangement is to get some idea of the relative emphasis students, at least in their verbal responses, place upon mate selection, education and competition or prestige. In the nature of the case this procedure does not give a measure, only a rough indication, of the place any reason for dating occupies in the reaction of students.

That primary place in such an analysis goes to love and mate selection is in line with common observation and American culture. Sociologists may with some accuracy say that individuals acting upon such motives are courting. On the other hand, the young people involved call what they are doing dating. The result is to bring to the fore the opposing conceptions of dating. The persons involved do not recognize, do not use or think in terms corresponding to, the Waller or Burgess-Locke distinction. To the participants they are dating, whether the primary reasons are mate selection, educational development, or prestige.

The unexpected result of the inquiry is the large emphasis placed on learning processes in dating. To find more than one-third of all the reasons given specifically educational is astounding. In reality such a proportion is an understatement. Some of the reasons in the third group, particularly getting to social affairs, have a learning or developmental aspect. Further, though inadequate, the data suggest that this educational motive is stronger in the early years of dating and decreases with age and experience. For instance, in comparison with the total the 366 respondents sixteen years old put educational reasons even above the affectional, 38 per cent of their reasons falling in the educational class.

In contrast to this large place given to consciously developmental dating, is the small emphasis on reasons which are, in any interpretation, of the competitive-prestige type. Only one-fourth of all the responses fall in this category. However, not all this proportion can be accurately attributed to prestige motivation. The most important reasons in the group, to get to social affairs,

accounting for twelve of the twenty-five per cent, was mentioned above as certainly involving in some part an element of learning through participation. The specific prestige reason represents only 2.2 per cent of the responses.

The two sexes differ in the percentage of responses emphasizing education in contrast to prestige. Girls put larger stress on educational reasons, 38.7 per cent in comparison with 28.8 per cent by the boys. On the other hand, boys emphasize the items of Group III more, 30.1 per cent in contrast to 20.9 by the girls. Over half the difference comes from the greater interest of the boys in necking and petting. The most that can be made of these differences between the sexes is that boys give more nearly equal place than girls to educational and prestige reasons for dating. If allowance is made for educational elements in the reasons in the third group, boys place as much, possibly more, emphasis on education than on prestige.

The method of inquiry is not necessarily perfect; indeed, how theories of an activity are to be checked is highly debatable. Reasons students give for action are certainly not the real reasons without modification or limitation. The specific set of reasons from which they chose was necessarily to some degree suggestive, and limited responses.<sup>27</sup> Still with all its shortcomings the method gives an indication of student reactions and is of value in pointing toward the truth until a more accurate procedure is devised.

Insofar as the evidence in hand may be accepted, the limitations Waller and Burgess and Locke put on definitions of dating are artificial and contrary to the conceptions of participants. Further, Waller has centered his theory around a relatively small part of the dating process, to the neglect of much more significant elements. True, he chose to focus attention on, and draw evidence from, fraternity-conscious college groups; but he stated that such groups reflect the phe-

<sup>27</sup> The list used was made in cooperation with one student group and tried out on a second group before it was put in final form.

nomenon most clearly. Mead and Gorer follow Waller in conceiving dating as an exploitative, competitive game. The responses of the students surveyed in this study suggest that such exploitative relationships are a minor phase of the dating process. Indeed, one may question whether a desire for prestige and an element of competition may not at times be socializing in their effects rather than always insidiously exploitative.

The Burgess-Locke description of dating is more in line with student behavior. However, in describing courtship as an existing American practice, both they and Waller seem out of touch with the usage of young people. The distinction these theorists make between dating and courtship apparently comes from confusing former with present practices and assuming that the difference between the two centers about love and marriage. Certainly students of dating age make no such distinction. Instead, the term courtship is, insofar as their own behavior is concerned, not a part of their vocabulary. As previously suggested, if courtship and dating must be distinguished, the separating quality lies not in love and marriage but in the intent the public may accurately assume about paired association between the sexes. In courtship the community properly assumes that marriage is the end in view. In dating only the individuals involved necessarily know the purpose of the association; from the mere fact of association the public can correctly assume nothing.

The educational theory of dating recog-

nizes the element of freedom as a primary reason for the rise of dating. At the same time it sees the large emphasis on love and mate selection as a logical carry-over from courtship. In truth, dating is a process by which mates are chosen and must therefore be expected to include love, though romantic emphasis is, because of the cultural setting, probably unduly large at present, especially in early dating. Like any objective view of dating, this theory sees the exploitative nature of some dating and regards it as one among many problems of current practices. In a new development not yet clearly defined and in great measure lacking in supporting and reenforcing social standards, dubious departures and aberrations are to be expected. In time the meaning of dating and its functions are likely to be defined and become known generally in the community, to adults as well as to participants. In that case more uniformity may be expected and pressure may be applied to reduce, if not eliminate, practices admitted to be contrary to individual and public well-being.

Such a view of dating has sufficient breadth to see the vital importance, the social and individual gains, of dating. At the same time it regards the problems associated with the phenomenon as largely the consequence of cultural lags and of random attempts to adapt to new situations. From these in time the community is likely to select the more advantageous modes of behavior and to reduce, if not weed out, the socially disadvantageous deviations.

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## ADOLESCENT-PARENT ADJUSTMENT — SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL AS A VARIABLE

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THE present study developed from the general hypothesis that socio-economic level is one of the variables in the differential adjustment of adolescents to parents. More specifically: (1) adolescents are better adjusted to parents in high socio-economic level than in low socio-economic level families, and (2) socio-economic level differences in adolescent-parent adjustment are not explained by other factors mutually associated with socio-economic level and adolescent-parent adjustment.

*Pertinent Previous Studies.* Contributions to the sociology of parent-adolescent interaction may be divided conveniently into two groups: (1) general sociological theory which can be applied to the special area of parent-adolescent interaction, and (2) empirical research in that special area of sociology.

Principal contributions to general theory have been made by Reuter,<sup>1</sup> Parsons,<sup>2</sup> Merton,<sup>3</sup> Davis,<sup>4</sup> Dinkel,<sup>5</sup> and Green.<sup>6</sup> While

they stress somewhat different points, a wide common base can be found for agreement that adolescent behavior of today is a result of the nature of present-day American society and particularly of two aspects of it: (1) its urban industrial character which has made the adolescent's labor of little or no value and his maintenance and education a heavy drain on the financial resources of the family, and (2) the extremely rapid rate of social change which gives the adolescent many experiences that the parent did not have and with which parents, institutions as presently constituted, and the mores are unable to cope in an organized manner.

The principal contributions to empirical research have been made by Cavan,<sup>7</sup> and Stott,<sup>8</sup> who have contributed to the comparison of residence groups,<sup>9</sup> and Havighurst<sup>10</sup> to the comparison of age groups. No previous study of socio-economic level as a variable in adolescent-parent adjustment has come to the writer's attention.<sup>11</sup>

*Construction of a Measurement Instrument.* The present study began in 1946 in Salem, Oregon. The city high school was experiencing a "wave" of vandalism, insubordination, and absenteeism. The teachers felt that most of the adolescents' school

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<sup>1</sup> C. B. Reuter, "The Sociology of Adolescence," *American Journal of Sociology*, 43 (1937), 414-427.

<sup>2</sup> Talcott Parsons, "Certain Primary Sources and Patterns of Aggression in the Social Structure of the Western World," *Psychiatry*, 10 (1947), 167-181.

<sup>3</sup> Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," *American Sociological Review*, 3 (1938), 672-682.

<sup>4</sup> Kingsley Davis, "The Sociology of Parent-Youth Conflict," *American Sociological Review*, 5 (1940), 523-535.

<sup>5</sup> Robert M. Dinkel, "Parent-Child Conflict in Minnesota Families," *American Sociological Review*, 8 (1943), 412-419.

<sup>6</sup> Arnold M. Green, "The Middle-Class Male Child and Neurosis," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (1946), 31-42.

<sup>7</sup> Ruth Cavan, *The Adolescent in the Family*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934.

<sup>8</sup> Leland H. Stott, "Adolescent Dislikes Regarding Parental Behavior," *Pedagogical Seminary*, 42 (1937), 393-414.

<sup>9</sup> Residential findings of this study are reported in a paper by the writer in *Rural Sociology*, Dec., 1950.

<sup>10</sup> R. J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba, *Adolescent Character and Personality*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949.

<sup>11</sup> The nearest is the adjustment of younger children reported in W. Allison Davis and R. J. Havighurst, *Father of the Man*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947.

adjustment problems could be traced to unsatisfactory adjustment in the home.

A check list of parental behavior items was prepared, but what proved to be more significant was a number of open-ended questions such as: On what subject would you like more freedom from parents? More information? More advice? More direction? Finally, and most productive, What advice do you think most important to give parents of children your age?

Of the mass of information secured from the above questions there was little indication which behavior and attitudes were really important to adolescent-parent adjustment and which were perhaps annoying or common but not important. To test its significance, each attitude and behavior item was formed into an objective multiple-choice question. The resulting anonymous questionnaire was administered to 572 high school students in six Washington high schools.<sup>12</sup> Each of the items was tested for association with the adolescent's evaluation of his relationship to his parents as measured by the question, "Do you consider your relationship to your parents: Ideal . . . , Very Satisfactory . . . , Satisfactory . . . , Unsatisfactory . . . , Very Unsatisfactory . . . ?"

Some of the behavior and attitudes mentioned by adolescents showed no significant correlation with the adolescent's own feeling about his adjustment and were dropped. These included what the adolescent felt about the regulation of child's spending money, control of adolescent eating, and amount of work required of the child.

After the elimination of non-significant behavior and attitude items, an objective form for the measurement of adolescent-parent adjustment was constructed, consisting of 31 adolescent-mother, 31 adolescent-father, and six adolescent-parent items. For convenience these items were grouped into five general areas: (1) feeling of being loved and accepted by parents, (2) parents' trust and confidence in the child, (3) child's

feelings about the personalities of the parents, (4) socialization of the child, (5) adjustment to groups outside family.<sup>13</sup> Each of the items was stated in a form similar to the following example: "When my father makes me do something, he tells me why it's necessary: Always . . . , Almost Always . . . , Sometimes . . . , Seldom . . . , Never . . . ."

An arbitrary system of weighting was adopted after a close correlation was found between it and the sigma system.<sup>14</sup> Since in the above example it was found that the largest per cent of the best adjusted adolescents checked "always" it was given the highest weight, 5, "almost always" the next highest, 4, etc. An additional check of this weighting was made by employing a variation of the Criterion of Internal Consistency in which quartiles formed by totaling scores from all the scale items were substituted for adjustment as measured by responses to a single question.<sup>15</sup>

*Sample and Methodology.* The sample consists of 1472 adolescents from grades eight and eleven of fifteen of the public schools of Michigan.<sup>16</sup> It includes 423 farm, 183 open country non-farm, 238 village,<sup>17</sup> 173 small town (2,500 to 10,000 population), 208 fringe, and 216 city adolescents, and 5 who did not indicate residence. The instrument was administered in the class-

<sup>13</sup> The hypotheses that each of these areas form a cluster of more highly correlated items than the scale as a whole was tested and rejected. Factor analysis found only one factor in the scale.

<sup>14</sup> Sewell gives a detailed description of the sigma method of weighting. See William H. Sewell, "The Construction and Standardization of a Measurement of Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families," *Oklahoma AES Technical Bulletin* 9, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1940.

<sup>15</sup> This weighting procedure parallels quite closely the one used by E. A. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939.

<sup>16</sup> Detroit, Lansing, Battle Creek (fringe), Belding, Rockford, West Branch, Mesick, Elkton, Pickford, Onaway, Wakefield, Wayne, Lakeview, Stephenson, and Concord.

<sup>17</sup> The rural population was deliberately oversampled to make possible a comparison of various rural groups. Residence was held constant when socio-economic levels were compared.

<sup>12</sup> See the writer's master's thesis, "Factors Influencing Adolescent Adjustment to Parents," State College of Washington, Pullman, 1947.

room to students taking required subjects. All were administered by the writer personally. The forms were strictly anonymous, a point which was stressed to reduce inhibitions to answering family questions.

The joint sponsorship of the Division of Education of Michigan State College and the State Department of Public Instruction with the Department of Sociology helped secure full cooperation on the part of teachers and school administrators, who in turn helped motivate the students. A combination of high motivation and the use of class time made possible a hundred per cent return. For various reasons eighteen returns were not used,<sup>18</sup> which left approximately ninety-nine per cent usable.

Socio-economic level was determined by weighting equally the occupation of the head of the family, estimated income, church attendance of each of the parents, education of each of the parents, number of memberships in organizations, and working status of the mother. The high correlation between objective measures of socio-economic level and the judgment of judges has been demonstrated by Kaufman,<sup>19</sup> Warner,<sup>20</sup> and indirectly by Hollingshead.<sup>21</sup>

**Validity and Reliability.** A number of tests of validity were employed both to individual scale items and to the scale as a whole. These included: (1) The correlation between each item and the feeling that the adolescent has of his relationship to his parents was checked (association significant above the 1% level was required).

<sup>18</sup> One girl was married, one was deaf, and another too retarded to be able to read well enough. Three omitted too many items, and the balance gave answers that contradicted themselves.

<sup>19</sup> Harold F. Kaufman, "Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community," *AES Memoir* 260, Cornell University, Ithaca, 1944.

<sup>20</sup> Lloyd Warner, *Democracy in Jonesville*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949.

<sup>21</sup> A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949. After selecting his social classes by judges, he describes them in objective terms such as membership in organizations, education, etc. These could just as well have been combined into a statistical index which probably would have produced differences as significant as the judge method.

(2) Each item was checked by the Criterion of Internal Consistency (C.R. of 3.0 was required). (3) Factor Analysis was made of twenty-eight scale items from all areas of the scale.<sup>22</sup> (4) Parents scored themselves on the same scale and a correlation of .40 with children's score was obtained. (5) Scores were correlated with the ten areas of the California Mental Health Analysis—intermediate form—and significant correlations were obtained for nine of the ten areas ( $r$  ranging from .60 to .20). (6) The subjective evaluations by experts on three campuses and of some 2,000 adolescents in Washington and Michigan were utilized. (7) A positive correlation of .67 between the scale scores and the subjective self-evaluation of the group scoring lowest on the scale was obtained.<sup>23</sup>

The split-half check of reliability employing the Kuder-Richardson formula yielded an uncorrected correlation of .92.<sup>24</sup>

**Test of the Hypotheses.** Hypothesis one is stated: Adolescents are better adjusted to parents in high than in low socio-economic level families. Three tests were made: (1) by comparing mean scores of the high and low socio-economic groups, (2) a Chi-square check of the distributions of high and low socio-economic level adolescents on each individual scale item, and (3) by the distribution of high and low socio-economic level adolescents in high, middle, and low adjustment quartiles.

The possible range of scores on the scale is 1.00 to 5.00. The highest socio-economic group showed a mean score of 3.96 compared to 3.66 for the lowest socio-economic group, a difference which is 7.02 times its standard error (a C.R. of 2.0 is generally considered adequate).

<sup>22</sup> All mother-adolescent items were included except five which closely paralleled items included. A larger number of items became prohibitive in terms of time and money.

<sup>23</sup> The lowest socio-economic group. This special check was considered desirable because sociologists have often been accused of imposing sets of values on groups who do not embrace them.

<sup>24</sup> Further methodological details are available in the writer's doctoral dissertation, "Adolescent Adjustment to Parents," Chapter 3, Michigan State College, East Lansing, 1950.



Of the 68 items in the scale, 48 or 70.6% show significant differences. All the items differing significantly show higher distributions for the high socio-economic group. Some items show slightly higher distributions for the low socio-economic group, but these differences are below the 5% level. The better adjustment of the high socio-economic group is distributed throughout all of the areas of the scale (see Table 1).

TABLE 1. SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RESPONSES OF HIGH AND LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL ADOLESCENTS TO ALL ADOLESCENT-PARENT ITEMS

Scale Sections	Difference Significant Above 5%	Difference Not Significant
Love and Security Items	9	2
Status Items	9	3
Socialization Items	7	9
Parent Personality Items	11	4
Outside Family Items	12	2
	48	20
Items Favoring High Socio-Economic Level Families		48
Items Favoring Low Socio-Economic Level Families		0

Adolescents from the higher socio-economic level families score higher on feeling of being loved and secure, feelings that parents trust and have confidence in them, socialization including disciplinary relationships, attitudes toward the parent's personality, and relationships in interaction affecting the adolescent's contact with groups outside the family.

Likewise the hypothesis is supported by

the distribution of high and low socio-economic level adolescents into high, middle, and low adjustment quartiles (shown in Table 2).

The hypothesis is supported above the 1% level of probability by a comparison of the mean adjustment scores of the two groups and by a comparison of the distribution of high and low socio-economic level adolescents into high, middle, and low adjustment quartiles, and above the 5% level of probability by forty-eight single items of the scale.

The above analysis, while it is convincing as stated, is of limited usefulness in establishing a causal relationship. Since a number of other variables are significantly associated with both adolescent-parent adjustment and socio-economic level, it becomes necessary to inquire whether the observed socio-economic differences may not be explained by variables associated with socio-economic level. More formally, this hypothesis is stated: Socio-economic level differences in adolescent-parent adjustment are not explainable by factors mutually associated with socio-economic level and adjustment. To test this hypothesis the factors of residence, broken families, family size, and working status of the mother are analyzed in the following discussion.

*Residence as a Factor.* Residence is significantly associated with adolescent-parent adjustment. This is shown by: (1) a comparison of mean scores of city, 3.896, and farm 3.732 (C.R. of the difference to its standard error is 3.62), (2) a significant difference in the distribution of city and farm adolescents into high, middle, and low adjustment quartiles (shown in Table 3).

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH, MEDIUM, AND LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL ADOLESCENTS INTO HIGH, MIDDLE, AND LOW ADOLESCENT-PARENT ADJUSTMENT QUARTILES

Adjustment Quartile	High Socio-Economic Level	Medium Socio-Economic Level	Low Socio-Economic Level	Total
High Quartile	109 (38%)	220 (23%)	19 (12%)	348
Middle Quartiles	133 (47%)	505 (52%)	70 (46%)	708
Low Quartile	43 (15%)	250 (25%)	64 (42%)	357
	285 100%	975 100%	153 100%	1413

$X^2=65.4$ ;  $P<.01$ .

239 314 285  
375 1128

TABLE 3. THE DISTRIBUTION OF CITY AND FARM ADOLESCENTS AMONG HIGH, MIDDLE, AND LOW ADOLESCENT-PARENT ADJUSTMENT QUARTILES

Adjustment Quartile	Farm	City	Total
High Quartile	84 (20%)	66 (31%)	150
Middle Quartiles	205 (49%)	105 (49%)	310
Low Quartile	130 (31%)	43 (20%)	173
	419 100%	216 100%	633

$$X^2=13.2; P<.01.$$

Residence is also significantly associated with socio-economic level.<sup>25</sup> This is indicated by the finding that there is a rank order correlation of .45 between items significantly different between farm-city and high-low socio-economic level. The association is significant, also, as shown by a Chi-square check of the distribution of farm and city families into high and low socio-economic levels.<sup>26</sup>

Since it has been established above that residence is significantly associated with both socio-economic level and adolescent-parent adjustment, it becomes necessary to determine whether all or some major portion of the socio-economic differences are explainable by residence. This check is made by holding residence constant. This is accomplished by testing the distribution of high and low socio-economic level adoles-

cents among high, middle, and low adjustment quartiles within the farm and city samples separately (shown in Table 4).

Since socio-economic differences remain above those required at the 1% level of probability, we may state with confidence that differences in adolescent-parent adjustment observed between high and low socio-economic level are not explained by residence differences.

**Broken Homes.** Proportion of broken homes<sup>28</sup> is significantly associated with both level of adolescent-parent adjustment and with socio-economic level. The association between broken homes and adolescent-parent adjustment is above the 1% level (shown in Table 5). The association between incidence of broken homes and socio-economic level is also above the 1% level of probability.<sup>27</sup>

Since broken homes are significantly asso-

<sup>25</sup> A more detailed discussion of the residence factor is presented by the writer in *Rural Sociology*, December, 1950.

<sup>26</sup> A chi-square value of 29.0 was obtained from a 2 by 2 table, which is significant, of course, above the 1% level.

<sup>28</sup> All homes are considered broken in which the adolescent is not living with both biological parents.

<sup>27</sup>  $X^2$  of 25.9 for a 2 by 3 table.

TABLE 4. COMPARISON OF HIGH, MEDIUM, AND LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL ADOLESCENT-PARENT ADJUSTMENT, WITH RESIDENCE CONSTANT

Adjustment Quartile	Farm			City		Total
	High Socio-Economic Level	Medium Socio-Economic Level	Low Socio-Economic Level	High Socio-Economic Level	Medium Low Socio-Economic Level	
High Quartile	18 (37%)	61 (23%)	6 (8%)	28 (40%)	37 (25%)	150
Middle 2 and 3	25 (51%)	147 (55%)	33 (44%)	34 (49%)	76 (53%)	315
Low Quartile	6 (12%)	87 (33%)	36 (48%)	8 (11%)	31 (22%)	168
	49 100%	295 100%	75 100%	70 100%	144 100%	633

$$X^2 \text{ for total table is } 31.54 \text{ with six degrees of freedom; } P<.01.$$

TABLE 5. THE DISTRIBUTION OF ADOLESCENTS FROM BROKEN AND UNBROKEN HOMES AMONG HIGH MIDDLE, AND LOW ADOLESCENT-PARENT ADJUSTMENT QUARTILES

Adjustment Quartile	Broken Families	Unbroken Families	Total
High Quartile	53 (19%)	303 (27%)	356
Middle 2 and 3	133 (48%)	577 (50%)	710
Low Quartile	90 (33%)	267 (23%)	357
	276 100%	1147 100%	1423

$$X^2=12.7; P<.01.$$

ciated with both socio-economic level and adolescent-parent adjustment, it is possible that this factor can explain the observed socio-economic differences. To determine whether all or some major portion of the socio-economic differences are explained by a different per cent of broken homes in the high and low socio-economic level groups, broken homes are held constant. This is accomplished by testing the distribution of high and low socio-economic level adolescents among high, middle, and low adjustment quartiles within the broken and unbroken family samples separately (shown in Table 6).<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The writer is indebted to Dr. Thomas C. McCormick for an examination of the mathematical assumptions of this use of Chi square.

Since socio-economic differences remain above those required at the 1% level of probability, we may state with confidence that differences in adolescent-parent adjustment observed between high, medium, and low socio-economic levels are not explained by differing proportions of broken homes in the three socio-economic levels. Table 6 indicates further that socio-economic status is a much more significant variable in unbroken than in broken homes. If broken homes were considered alone, the importance of socio-economic level would remain problematical.

*Size of Family.* Size of family is significantly associated with both socio-economic level<sup>29</sup> and adolescent-parent adjustment.

<sup>29</sup> The Chi-square check of association between

TABLE 6. COMPARISON OF ADOLESCENT-PARENT ADJUSTMENT OF HIGH, MEDIUM, AND LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL FAMILIES, WITH BROKEN HOMES HELD CONSTANT

Broken Families				
Adjustment Quartile	High Socio-Economic Level	Medium Socio-Economic Level	Low Socio-Economic Level	Total
High Quartile	8 (30%)	44 (20%)	2 (7%)	54
Middle 2 and 3	13 (50%)	100 (46%)	18 (60%)	131
Low Quartile	5 (20%)	74 (34%)	10 (33%)	89
	26 100%	218 100%	30 100%	274
$X^2=7.1.$				
Unbroken Families				
Adjustment Quartile	High Socio-Economic Level	Medium Socio-Economic Level	Low Socio-Economic Level	Total
High Quartile	98 (38%)	176 (24%)	16 (13%)	290
Middle 2 and 3	119 (47%)	395 (53%)	51 (43%)	565
Low Quartile	38 (15%)	173 (23%)	53 (44%)	264
	255 100%	744 100%	120 100%	1119

$$X^2=56.7.$$

Total  $X^2$  is 63.8 with eight degrees of freedom;  $P<.01.$



# ADOLESCENT-PARENT ADJUSTMENT

347

TABLE 7. THE DISTRIBUTION OF ADOLESCENTS FROM SMALL, MEDIUM, AND LARGE FAMILIES AMONG HIGH, MIDDLE, AND LOW ADOLESCENT-PARENT ADJUSTMENT QUARTILES

Adjustment Quartile	"Only" Child	Two Children	3, 4, 5 Children	6 or More Children	Total
High Quartile	54 (38%)	89 (32%)	157 (24%)	58 (17%)	358
Middle 2 and 3	66 (47%)	139 (50%)	339 (51%)	175 (49%)	719
Low Quartile	21 (15%)	52 (18%)	169 (25%)	121 (34%)	363
	141 100%	280 100%	665 100%	354 100%	1440

$$X^2=48.66; P<.01.$$

The association between size of family and

size of family and socio-economic level indicates that it is significant above the 1% level. A value of Chi-square of 568.4 is not often found for a 3 by 3 table. Note in Table 8 that there is only one low socio-economic level family with one or two children and only three high socio-economic level families with more than five children. A corrected coefficient of contingency of .733 was found between size of family and socio-economic status.

adjustment is above the 1% level of probability (see Table 7).

Since size of family is associated with both adolescent-parent adjustment and socio-economic level, size of family is held constant to determine whether size of family can explain observed differences between socio-economic levels (shown in Table 8).

Since socio-economic differences remain

TABLE 8. COMPARISON OF ADOLESCENT-PARENT ADJUSTMENT OF HIGH, MEDIUM, AND LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL FAMILIES, WITH SIZE OF FAMILY CONSTANT

Small Families**				
Adjustment Quartile	High Socio-Economic Level	Medium Socio-Economic Level	Low Socio-Economic Level	Total
High Quartile	75 (37%)	63 (31%)	0*	138
Middle 2 and 3	98 (48%)	103 (50%)	0*	201
Low Quartile	31 (15%)	38 (19%)	1*	70
	204 100%	204 100%	1*	409

$$X^2=2.1. * \text{Combined with medium group.}$$

Medium Families**				
Adjustment Quartile	High Socio-Economic Level	Medium Socio-Economic Level	Low Socio-Economic Level	Total
High Quartile	34 (44%)	91 (23%)	1*	126
Middle 2 and 3	34 (44%)	200 (50%)	2*	236
Low Quartile	10 (12%)	109 (27%)	1*	120
	78 100%	400 100%	4*	482

$$X^2=18.5. * \text{Combined with medium group.}$$

Large Families**				
Adjustment Quartile	High Socio-Economic Level	Medium Socio-Economic Level	Low Socio-Economic Level	Total
High Quartile	0*	64 (18%)	17 (12%)	81
Middle 2 and 3	1*	196 (54%)	68 (46%)	265
Low Quartile	2*	100 (28%)	62 (42%)	164
	3*	360 100%	147 100%	510

$$X^2=8.6. * \text{Combined with medium group.}$$

Total  $X^2$  is 29.2 with six degrees of freedom;  $P<.01$ .

\*\* Small families 1 and 2 children, Medium 3-4, Large 5 or more.

above those required at the 1% level of probability, it may be stated with confidence that differences in adolescent-parent adjustment observed between high and low socio-economic levels are not explained by differing distributions of small, medium, and large families at high and low socio-economic levels. Significant association is found only in medium and large families. For reasons not here apparent, socio-economic level becomes non-significant in small families.<sup>30</sup>

*Employed Mothers.* Since the working status of the mother was taken as one measure of socio-economic level, it was anticipated that there would be a significant association between it and socio-economic

level.<sup>31</sup> However, the literature of family relations has considered the working mother a factor of such importance that it appears necessary to demonstrate that the association between adolescent-parent adjustment and socio-economic level is not explained entirely by this factor. Since the employment status of mothers is also significantly associated with adolescent-parent adjustment,<sup>32</sup> it could explain the observed socio-

<sup>31</sup> Above the 1% level of probability ( $X^2$  of 57.7 for a 3 by 3 table). Notice in Table 9 that there are twelve times as many mothers employed full-time in the low as in the high socio-economic group.

<sup>32</sup> The association is significant above the 5% level of probability. This is not as close an association as the other variables considered in this study, or as close as is popularly supposed. Furthermore, the scores of adolescents from homes in which the mother is not employed outside the home average lower than those in which the mother is

TABLE 9. COMPARISON OF ADOLESCENT-PARENT ADJUSTMENT OF HIGH, MEDIUM, AND LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL FAMILIES, WITH EMPLOYMENT OF MOTHERS CONSTANT

Employed Full-Time				
Adjustment Quartile	High Socio-Economic Level	Medium Socio-Economic Level	Low Socio-Economic Level	Total
High Quartile	2*	32 (20%)	4 (10%)	38
Middle 2 and 3	1*	75 (50%)	22 (60%)	98
Low Quartile	0*	45 (30%)	11 (30%)	56
	3*	152 100%	37 100%	192

$X^2=2.2$ . \* Combined with medium group.

Employed Part-Time				
Adjustment Quartile	High Socio-Economic Level	Medium Socio-Economic Level	Low Socio-Economic Level	Total
High Quartile	13 (36%)	37 (32%)	4 (20%)	54
Middle 2 and 3	17 (48%)	60 (51%)	11 (55%)	88
Low Quartile	6 (16%)	20 (17%)	5 (25%)	31
	36 100%	117 100%	20 100%	173

$X^2=1.4$ .

Not Employed				
Adjustment Quartile	High Socio-Economic Level	Medium Socio-Economic Level	Low Socio-Economic Level	Total
High Quartile	94 (38%)	140 (21%)	12 (12%)	246
Middle 2 and 3	115 (46%)	355 (53%)	37 (39%)	507
Low Quartile	37 (16%)	176 (26%)	48 (49%)	261
	246 100%	671 100%	97 100%	1014

$X^2=66.2$ .

Total  $X^2$  is 69.8 with ten degrees of freedom;  $P<.01$ .

economic differences. To check this possibility, employment status of mothers is held constant (shown in Table 9).

With employment status of the mother held constant, socio-economic differences in adolescent-parent adjustment remain above the 1% level of probability. We may, therefore, state with confidence that employment status of the mother does not explain the observed differences between the adolescent-parent adjustment of high and low socio-economic groups. We should point out, however, that socio-economic level is not an equally significant variable in homes where the mother is or is not employed. It is highly associated with adjustment where mothers are not employed, but shows no significant adjustment where mothers are employed part or full time.

*Summary.* Adolescents are, on the average, better adjusted to parents in high than in low socio-economic level families. This is shown by a comparison of mean adjustment scores of the two groups; by their distribution into high, middle, and low adjustment quartiles, and by an item analysis of the scale used to measure adjustment.

The higher scores of the high socio-economic group are not explained by the dif-

ferential distribution of certain characteristics associated with both adolescent-parent adjustment and socio-economic level. These characteristics include proportion of broken homes, size of family, employment status of the mother, and rural or urban residence of the family. Significant socio-economic differences remain when each of the associated factors is held constant.

*Conclusions.* Socio-economic level of the family is a significant variable in the differential adjustment of adolescents to parents. It is not, however, the only significant sociological variable. Residence, size of family, broken homes, employment status of the mother, and age and sex of the adolescent are also significant factors.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, socio-economic level is not equally significant in all sub-groups considered in this study. Very small families, families with employed mothers, and broken families fail to show significant differences between socio-economic levels. Both the general finding that adolescent-parent adjustment is better at the high socio-economic level and the exceptions to that general finding noted above could provide a basis for further research.

<sup>33</sup> Age and sex are equated in the sampling process. Possible loading by either immigrant children or a particular religious group was also checked.

## SOME PROBLEMS OF LABORATORY EXPERIMENTS WITH SMALL POPULATIONS \*

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IN 1930, the psychologist Dashiell published "An Experimental Analysis of Some Group Effects."<sup>1</sup> Interested in

Floyd Allport's ideas about the effects of the presence of other people on the speed and accuracy of individual performance of tasks,<sup>2</sup> Dashiell brought subjects into the laboratory, and put them to work on a problem. Some worked in isolation. Others handled the problem in a setting of com-

\* Revision of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in New York, December 28-30, 1949.

<sup>1</sup> John F. Dashiell, "An Experimental Analysis of Some Group Effects," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 25 (July-September, 1930), 190-199.

<sup>2</sup> Floyd Allport, *Social Psychology*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924.



petitive interrelationships. A third population worked with one another in a cooperative relationship. Dashiell compared the performances of these three populations. Theoretically, the focus of his study was almost entirely on the individual subject. Much of the design and interpretation now seem quite primitive. But one significant result of his work lay in the fact that the study provided foundations for experimentation with small laboratory collectivities.

Sociologists have been skeptical about the possibilities of laboratory experimentation as a method of study in their field. While recognizing its potential advantages, they have often stated that such experimentation was impossible or, at the very least, unfruitful.<sup>3</sup> Even the recent books about the use of experimental methods have been limited almost exclusively to discussions of field studies of "natural" populations with their limited possibilities for the control, manipulation, and repetition of variables.<sup>4</sup>

At the same time, those sociologists who work in social psychology have become aware that their psychological neighbors not only do not share these skepticisms, but have actually moved ahead from such pioneer studies as those of Dashiell to the study of interpersonal and intergroup behavior in laboratory settings. This paper surveys parts of their work and tries to understand its implications for some of the questions sociologists have raised about laboratory experimentation.

#### DEVELOPMENTS BY PSYCHOLOGISTS

Among psychologists, a step toward more socially oriented experiments than those of Dashiell appears in the work of Shaw.<sup>5</sup> In

establishing groups for the purpose of studying their problem-solving patterns, she compared group performances with the work of individuals on the same problems. Some of her findings were ambiguous, but it appeared that the group solutions of the very difficult problems she presented were more rapid than individual work, and that, step-for-step in the movement toward solution, the work of the groups was more accurate. Shaw accounts for these differences, however, with individual concepts. She says that group superiority was the result of the ability of a few superior individuals in her collectivities whose efforts were aided by the presence of enough critical thinking from other members so that wrong turns in problem-solving were corrected almost as soon as they appeared.

The more immediate predecessor of most of the contemporary use of small laboratory populations by psychologists was the study by Lippitt and White<sup>6</sup> of the results for interaction of autocratic, laissez-faire, and democratic leaders. These studies in "group atmosphere" had a strong orientation toward genuinely interactional and structural dimensions. The central problem was one of varying a functional role and studying the effects of such variance on interpersonal relations. A system of rotating the experimental leaders was used to separate the influence of their personalities from the influence of their leadership roles. The investigators had enough sophistication to match their group for pre-existing friendship patterns and other structural properties.

A review of these experiments, or of the series recently published by an Office of Naval Research project in social communication,<sup>7</sup> or of the reports of research on group

<sup>3</sup> For a recent summary see: Wilson Gee, *Social Science Research Methods*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950, pp. 346-358.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example: Ernest Greenwood, *Experimental Sociology: A Study in Method*, King's Crown Press, New York, 1945, and F. Stuart Chapin, *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1947.

<sup>5</sup> Marjorie E. Shaw, "A Comparison of Individuals and Small Groups in the Rational Solution of Complex Problems," *American Journal of Psychology*, 44 (July, 1932), 491-504.

<sup>6</sup> Ronald Lippitt and Ralph K. White, "An Experimental Study of Leadership and Group Life," in Theodore M. Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartley (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1947, 315-330.

<sup>7</sup> Leon Festinger and Others, *Theory and Experiment in Social Communication*, Ann Arbor, Michigan: Research Center for Group Dynamics, University of Michigan, 1950. For other examples see especially the journal *Human Relations: A Quarterly Journal of Studies Towards the Integration of the Social Sciences* which is now in its third volume and the files of *The Journal of Social Issues*.

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decision-making, group productivity, social perception, role relationships, collective problem-solving, and status relations, shows that psychologists perform laboratory experiments on small collectivities with the belief that (1) they are producing valid replicas of the concepts under study and that (2) the use, when possible,<sup>8</sup> of experimental replicas, gives them results that are clearer and more precise than those they could obtain in any other way. They also stress the well known advantages of being able to manipulate variables in order to produce conditions that are theoretically important but that are difficult to find or observe in field settings, and of the ability to make endless repetitions in checking research findings.<sup>9</sup>

Sociologists will appreciate the potential value of these advantages. One persistent complaint in our books on research technique is that the data necessary for the testing of our hypotheses are not available. It is a difficulty of "letting nature perform our experiments for us" that nature does not always oblige and that, when she does, we are often unable to collect the kind of observations we need to interpret her handiwork. Again, the "natural experiment" is hard to use in a refined way because many variables are uncontrolled. At other times, the populations involved are so large as to defy the investigator's efforts at observation or are too widely scattered for his convenience. And we have been especially grieved that we are not often permitted a hand in the planning, timing, and execution of nature's work—a hand in manipulating groups in ways that would make crucial tests of our theories.

#### THE VALIDITY OF EXPERIMENTAL REPLICAS

The advantages psychologists claim for laboratory experiments depend heavily on their ability to create adequate laboratory replicas of concepts. If valid replicas of the conceptual dimensions studied can be

produced in laboratory populations, then the benefits that accompany any controlled experimentation should follow. It is on just this problem of the validity of experimental replicas that much sociological skepticism has centered. This problem is a special case of the more general problem of the validity of operations in research.

It is revealing that the discussion of the validity of research operations has changed its focus in the last ten years. In current publications there is a growing rejection both of the position that it is impossible or unfruitful to try to create operational replicas of our concepts and of the position that it is scientifically useful to construct arbitrary operations that are quite unrelated to concepts and then, without further efforts at validation, to treat the procedures as if they were valid conceptual representations. As important as the presence of this trend are the apparent reasons for its existence.

One of these reasons seems to be a renewed awareness of the way concepts and operations are validated in research. As a statement of a condition existing in the observed world, the validity of a concept is equal to the faithfulness of its representation of the reality under study. Scientific practice has, at present, only two criteria for estimating the faithfulness of the representation of a concept. The first is the consensus of supposedly competent observers that an accurate replica has been made. The second criterion of validity is the use of the concept in empirical tests to predict and control events involving the reality it represents. The scientist continues to use a concept as adequately valid for his purposes as long as it successfully meets these criteria. He modifies or discards it when it fails to satisfy these standards. The wider the range of successful predictions made with a given concept the greater is our confidence in its validity.

All of this is familiar. It is also familiar that no concept is studied directly. In every case we study the concept through the examination of records of observations of the reality to which the concept refers. If we are studying the relationship of social class

<sup>8</sup> In this connection, see: Dael Wolfe and Others, "Standards for Appraising Psychological Research," *The American Psychologist*, 4 (August, 1949), 320-328.

<sup>9</sup> Greenwood, *op. cit.*

position to the structure of authority within families, we analyze descriptive reports, ratings, measures, or some combinations of these. The question of validity here might be asked in such specific ways as: How do we know that our rating scales isolate what we have theoretically specified as the distinctive levels of social class, or that our interview data are an accurate reflection of the structural connections between the organization of authority in the families and their position in the class system?

One new and growing realization<sup>10</sup> seems to be that the validity of research operations of all kinds is to be judged by the same standard as the validity of concepts, that is, by the faithfulness with which they represent that for which they stand. Since research operations stand for concepts, they are valid to the degree that they are faithful representations of those concepts.

A second realization is that the same criteria used in estimating the validity of concepts are currently the best available for checking the validity of operations in research. That these criteria are fallible has often been demonstrated. Competent observers can be wrong in their collective judgments and scientists can succeed or fail in their efforts at prediction and control for reasons other than the validity of their concepts and operations. In the first instance, we assume that extensive efforts at prediction and control will eventually reveal the conceptual error. In the second case, we expect that thorough reviews of our concepts, predictions, and operations will eventually correct our mistakes. At any rate, we have no other methods for estimating validity.

It is only a step from this line of thinking to the statement that the validity of laboratory experimentation rests on no different criteria than those applied to empirical research operations in field studies. The significance of this for sociological method

lies principally in its denial of a persistent but irrational dichotomy. In recent times, we have been critical of the concepts and operations used in our field studies, but we have recognized that both were subject to correction and, in the faith that we knew how to improve them and were busy about that task, we have felt considerable confidence that we knew how to describe the results of such studies in ways that gave them a significant bearing on theory. Studies of social class are a case in point. While they often did not use the label "social class" to study the things we thought were most important, and while their specifications of what they were studying were often vague, we felt that they supplied us with enough data so that we could do an independent and more precise job of stating the theoretical importance of the findings. Insofar as these studies have met the usual criteria of conceptual and operational validity, we have found them acceptable, and we have shown faith that future work would come still closer to meeting those criteria.

This is to be contrasted with the tendency in our publications to treat the operations and findings from laboratory experimentation as if they were to be judged by very different, though rarely specified, standards. Recognition that their validity stands or falls on the same criteria that we apply to field studies should be a major step in freeing our imaginations for the use of laboratory experimentation with at least the same confidence of future improvement that we accord survey techniques, historical studies, scaling, or interview records.

In all fairness it must be admitted that the establishment of the validity of laboratory replicas of concepts has seemed more difficult in practice than the validation of methods used in field studies. In any empirical research, the translation of concepts into working operations for pointing to their empirical referents and for obtaining accurate records of our observations of those referents makes us aware of imprecisions in our theorizing. Perhaps we have developed a statement of what we mean by social classes. Now we must refer it to reality

<sup>10</sup> This realization is new in the sense that it is changing from being part of the formal knowledge of sociologists to being part of their working knowledge. It has, of course, been in print for a long time.



and see if it is clear enough to permit observation; to see if it is precise enough to include all we want it to include and to exclude all other things. Fuzzy conceptualizing stands exposed when we try to get high inter-observer reliability.

Creating laboratory replicas of realities to be studied imposes the added burden on the observer not only of knowing his concept's referent when he sees it, but of knowing it well enough to be able to duplicate it. This makes even more rigorous demands on the precision of his theorizing. As a result, he and his colleagues are more severe judges of the extent to which he has succeeded in his research design. This, in turn, makes more stringent the level of validation required before the investigator feels reasonably confident of the adequacy of his work.

A related aspect of the skepticism about the validity of laboratory replicas of concepts appears in the charge that they are artificial. The force of this criticism does not seem to lie in its implication that there is something inherently undesirable about the study of an event that is made to occur at a given time and place as the result of a conscious act of an experimenter as compared with the study of the same event when it occurs in "nature" without such conscious planning. If event X taking place in the laboratory is the same as event X taking place outside the laboratory, generalizations about its nature in one setting will apply equally well in the other.

The difficulties related to alleged artificiality seem to lie in three other directions. First, the laboratory replica is not likely to include all of the internal characteristics found in the natural objects. Second, the laboratory replicas may function in contexts other than those in which the natural objects usually appear. (For example, if we could develop primary groups in the laboratory, they might not include the feature of having members expect to continue in this relationship for a considerable period of time, and they might not be affected, as are those in the natural setting, by being embedded in a context of other groups and institutions that condition their operation.)

Third, there is a lack of finality about positive laboratory findings.

The absence of parts of the internal or external conditions found in the natural state of the object is serious *if the generalizations we are testing require their presence*. Part of the strategic judgment of when it is appropriate to use laboratory experimentation involves knowing whether we can produce all the *relevant* conditions our theories demand. But, in many instances, the difficulties of context are avoidable. More will be said about them later. The issues they raise highlight again the advantages and difficulties of creating laboratory replicas, for they point to the previously mentioned problems of having a precise enough theory to know when one has reproduced all of the relevant internal and external characteristics of the object under study, and also to the advantages that come when such efforts at reproduction make us aware of things we did not see, or tacitly assumed, in field studies. No one will underrate the benefits to theory of having the overlooked and implicit made visible and explicit. Awareness of the dangers involved is also a deserved warning against unwarranted generalization from laboratory studies that do not reproduce relevant aspects of the context of the objects we study when such aspects are important for our problems. Such awareness challenges us to further technical advance in supplying both contexts and internal features for our experimental populations. Finally, it points to the frequent need for testing generalizations obtained in the laboratory through the study of field situations. These methods fructify each other.

The skilled use of laboratory experiments has, then, the effect of so clarifying our knowledge of the conditions under which our results were obtained that we may often present them with a higher degree of confidence than would be warranted in the case of most field studies.

The third direction in which the charge of artificiality in laboratory experimentation seems to point raises quite different questions. It applies especially to those cases in which we are testing hypotheses about

some "natural" social event—when our interest is in the natural event rather than in the laboratory population under study. The point made here is that there is a lack of finality about positive laboratory findings. Suppose we have noticed that, in some homogeneous, natural group, most communications seem to be directed toward those members who hold extreme opinions on issues of common interest. We might hypothesize that, in such groups, the need to maintain collective action will result in efforts to reach consensus and that, necessarily, consensus can be achieved only if the most divergent positions on important issues can be reconciled. Perhaps we establish a series of matched laboratory populations with different degrees of integration, and predict that the amount of communication to persons holding extreme positions will be greatest in those groups that are most integrated. Let us imagine, further, that the findings of our study are in the expected direction. What do such findings tell us about the dynamics of the natural groups in which our real interest lies?

Since we are assuming here that we have produced valid replicas of our hypotheses about the natural situation, we can say that, if our hypotheses about the situation are valid descriptions of it, they would suffice to explain the observed results. But, there lies the problem. We do not know that our descriptions of the natural situation are correct. True, the conditions we believe to be operating there are sufficient to produce the observed results, but it may well be that other conditions can produce the same results, and that they, and not the ones we have tested, are operating in the field setting.

By contrast, a negative finding in the use of controlled laboratory experimentation would be more definitive. It would tell us positively that the conditions we have hypothesized as explaining the field results are not sufficient to produce them.

It may properly be suggested that this lack of finality in the testing of hypotheses about field situations through laboratory experimentation is not a function of the laboratory technique. Any other method of

testing hypotheses about field situations would leave us in the same position of knowing that the conditions we have hypothesized as responsible for the direction of communications in the group *could* have produced the results we observe, but of not knowing that they *did*, in fact, produce those results. This is not the place to discuss solutions for this problem. It is relevant to say that it is not a result of using laboratory methods and to remind ourselves that the tentativeness of all knowledge is currently a canon of science.

#### PHRASING PROBLEMS FOR LABORATORY EXPERIMENTS

The advantages of laboratory experimentation have not overcome the healthy skepticism of sociologists who have asked if the methods of the laboratory will allow them to handle the problems they want to explore. All the precision, flexibility, and validity in the world would not be of much use if they could be had only in the study of problems that were insignificant for the development of a systematic body of theory about collective life.

Empirical studies striving for precision have sometimes come to that dismal conclusion. In her pioneer study of child behavior, Dorothy Thomas<sup>11</sup> decided that precision and high observer reliability could be obtained only at the sacrifice of records of the "more 'interesting' details of group relationships. . . ." That this problem can be overcome, even in laboratory settings, has been demonstrated many times since.<sup>12</sup> That it is not unique to laboratory studies can be confirmed by an examination of current methodological discussions of other techniques such as those of the sample survey or of historical method.

At present, there are two limitations to replication of which laboratory experi-

<sup>11</sup> Dorothy S. Thomas, *Some New Techniques for Studying Social Behavior*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example: Lippitt and White, *op. cit.*, and Festinger and Others, *op. cit.* For another appraisal, see Greenwood, *op. cit.*, 131-134.

menters are sharply conscious. It is probable that there are several others. These limitations are features of research problems having particular characteristics: (a) problems so conceived that the relevant variables cannot be manipulated, and (b) problems so conceived that they require the production of a host of features peculiar to a given cultural history. Both of these set only partial limitations to laboratory experimentation.

To experiment at all it is necessary that we can either manipulate the relevant variables or that "nature" present them to us in the combinations we need. Genetic studies of the socialization of the child are limited because we cannot raise children in isolation or put them in certain kinds of environments. Even the field experiment in this area will probably have to content itself with the study of children raised in "naturally" different settings.

The second limitation to laboratory experimentation, that set by problems that demand the exact reproduction of the particulars of some culture's history, is sometimes easier to overcome. If we deal with a prediction that would apply only to groups with 10,000 members, the study of 15 people will not satisfy our needs. Likewise if we simply must have people who have lived for a minimum of 30 years in a matriarchal society, it is not practical to try to create them and their community for purposes of research. When problems are stated in this way, the use of laboratory experimentation often is not indicated.

One sense in which these conditions are only partial limitations is that many of our hypotheses can be recast in relative rather than absolute requirements without losing their original meanings. Suppose we have been studying large industrial plants and have developed some hypotheses about the relationship between the numbers and specialization of personnel and the speed of communication within the population. These industries may involve populations of several hundreds of individuals. We cannot hope to duplicate that situation in the laboratory, but we can compare groups of 10 with groups of 40, or, holding number con-

stant, groups with two kinds of specialists with groups having a six-fold division of labor. If size and complexity are the relevant variables the relative differences in the artificial groups should be in the same directions as those between large and small, relatively specialized and relatively unspecialized industries. When it is possible to cast hypotheses in such a way that they are tested by data on relative differences rather than requiring some fixed characteristics like a given absolute size, number of sub-parts, length of group history, or importance of the situations for the persons involved, we can often adapt them to the laboratory situation.

The solution of the problem posed by demands for studying the particulars of culture history through the recasting of the hypotheses into relative forms has other implications for the kind of questions we can expect to answer through laboratory experimentation. It implies that when we turn from hypotheses about the specific details of culture history to more general statements of the conditions and dynamics underlying those particulars we find ourselves in a better position to experiment in the laboratory. If our interest is in the results for collective action of the secularization of a group, we cannot give our laboratory populations the whole gamut of experiences that have occurred in our civilization since the rise of Greek rationalism or hope to study their resultant behavior as a complete duplicate of that of modern Americans. If that is the way our problem is cast, another methodology is called for in its study. Suppose, however, that we move from the particulars to a higher level of generalization and conceptualize what we consider to be the situation of secularized Western peoples. Perhaps we decide from field observations that theirs is a special case of the situation in which individuals lack a system of ultimate collective goals for behavior, and, as a result, that they have difficulty in planning their life careers, that they have doubts about the value of the things they do, and that their collective action is less integrated than would be true



for societies in which such ultimate goals exist. This is, of course, a much over-simplified illustration, but it may serve to indicate that a shift in our concerns to higher levels of generalization about collective life makes our work more amenable to laboratory experimentation.

By focusing on levels of generality of which the particulars of culture history are a special case, there opens up the possibility of finding other cases that are equally adequate empirical replicas of the generality. If the experimenter finds it impossible to reproduce the particulars of a given cultural instance in his laboratory for manipulation, attention to a higher level of abstraction increases the probability that some equivalent special case will be reproducible. In the case of his more general statement of the nature of secularism, he might consider a pointless hour of ring-toss as a special case of his theory and make predictions to collective integration, personal satisfaction with the present, and relative randomization of behavior. This would, of course, have to be controlled by a comparison with another group in which the hour of ring-toss is one in which the participants see their action as contributing to some valued goal such as the advancement of knowledge about group behavior or the winning of theater tickets for the group.

If our scientific objective is the development of a systematic and highly generalized body of principles about collective life, this forcing of greater generality of hypotheses is not undesirable. It may also give impetus to the growth of the kind of high level deductive systems that have proved so potent in other disciplines for directing attention to hypotheses that are not likely to arise from field observation alone; to a better systematizing of the nature and comparative characteristics of collectivities of all types in all settings. Again, the psychologists have something to offer us here. Their efforts to overcome the limitations of existing low-level concepts about collective life are important materials for our study. Especially important are reports of what is perhaps the most highly devel-

oped of their systems—the theoretical constructs of the late Kurt Lewin.<sup>13</sup>

Laboratory experimentation is no panacea. Like any other methodology it requires judicious use, and the generalizations resulting from it demand careful qualification. A major contribution of sociologists using the techniques of the laboratory will be their additions to our slender understanding of its limitations. The advantages it offers to research in sociology seem too great to deny ourselves the use of the method.

#### SOME ADDITIONAL APPLICATIONS

There are a number of types of research problems in sociology that seem especially ripe for treatment with laboratory techniques. They are ripe in the sense that they are of significance for theory, that the methodology of the laboratory, even now, seems especially well adapted to their exploration, and that our present conceptual development is at a stage that permits their investigation. A few of them are suggested below to give a feel for the range of utility of laboratory experimentation.

An earlier period of sociology's history saw a great deal of speculation about the very process of interaction itself. Writers worked over the now classic cycle of competition, conflict, accommodation, assimilation, and cooperation. They recognized the desirability of intensive analysis of interactions in order to understand how culture and social organization took shape and changed. But the study of interaction as a process was always inordinately difficult, the data were shifting and fleeting, and the universe over which the process operated was too large for easy grasp. Bales' recent work<sup>14</sup> shows us that the small experimental group promises to give us new opportunities for handling this area of

<sup>13</sup> Kurt Lewin, *Principles of Topological Psychology*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936; "Constructs in Psychology and Psychological Ecology," in Kurt Lewin and Others, *Authority and Frustration*, Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1944, pp. 3-29.

<sup>14</sup> Robert F. Bales, *Interaction Process Analysis*, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1949.

theory and points to specific techniques for the conceptualization and experimental study of social process.

Many of our theories about the organization of collective life are cast as ideal or empirical types. Such types often represent pairs of logical or empirical opposites which we treat as the extreme ends of a scale. This seems to be the case for such pairs as bureaucracy and primary group, folk and urban communities, and circular reaction and interpretive interaction. In using such theories, we treat all intermediate cases as straight-line functions of the relevant variables. In any theory cast as an ideal typology, all real life cases are intermediate cases as well. We do not expect any of them to fall at the typological extreme. It is a vital, but largely unexplored, problem to know whether the cases between our typological extremes really are distributed as straight-line functions of the postulated variables. This certainly is not always the situation for phenomena in fields such as hydraulics. The cases in which we can produce needed intermediate types in the laboratory gives us flexibility in checking the shape of phenomenal distributions.

Present results from laboratory experiments suggest another potentiality for testing and developing sociological theory. Seeing group life before us on a small microscopic, readily observable scale facilitates the refinement of hypotheses that are necessarily gross when we are limited to the study of interaction in larger, less accessible units. Studies of this kind have sensitized investigators to a new range of functions and of functional roles that are probably necessary if a group is to persist and deal with its problems. There are, for example, data suggesting that successful collective problem-solving involves a predictable series of steps; that the assimilation of new content and the development of group decisions require that someone shall periodically summarize or clarify, that someone shall act as a reality-tester for the group, and that others shall function in such ways as reaffirming group solidarity and in getting members involved.<sup>15</sup>

Thelen<sup>16</sup> puts one implication from these findings succinctly in his "principle of least-group-size." This means that, for the collective handling of any particular problem, there are a minimum of functions that must be performed by group members; that the smallest effective group will be one containing these vital roles in the repertoire of its members and one providing for the exercise of these functions by skilled participants when the group requires their help. Such results suggest that we may profit by reviewing our thinking about the importance of individual and sub-group skills in larger groups and in whole societies. I am not proposing a return to a naive "great man" theory of initiative in social life, but that we give consideration to the methods for diagnosing the skill-requirements of given collective problems and the skill resources of particular groups for meeting such requirements.<sup>17</sup>

The problems of place, time, and ease of observation that the laboratory setting is especially well designed to handle have done much to keep the study of collective behavior in the moribund condition in which it has been during the last decade or two.<sup>18</sup> Changes, collective excitement, contagion, crowds, social movements, and fashions have been peculiarly difficult to observe and an-

<sup>15</sup> See National Training Laboratory in Group Development, *Report of the Second Summer Laboratory Session, Bethel, Maine, June 13 to July 3, 1948*, National Education Association, 1948; and Ronald Lippitt, *Training in Community Relations*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949.

<sup>16</sup> Herbert Thelen, "Group Dynamics in Instruction: Principle of Least Group Size," *The School Review*, 57 (March, 1949), 139-148.

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, Kenneth D. Benne and Paul Sheats, "Functional Roles of Group Members," *The Journal of Social Issues*, 4 (Spring, 1948), 41-49. For the larger society, see such works as: Crane Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution*, New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1938, Chap. 4, "Types of Revolutionists," and Chap. 5, "The Rule of the Moderates;" Harold D. Lasswell, *The Analysis of Political Behaviour*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1948, Part 2, Chap. 1, "Skill Politics and Skill Revolution."

<sup>18</sup> Anselm L. Strauss, "Research in Collective Behavior: Neglect and Need," *American Sociological Review*, 12 (June, 1947), 352-354.

alyze. The formulation of these phenomena as different approaches to handling identifiable types of problems makes it possible to produce valid replicas of them in laboratory settings and to push deeper into their dynamics.

#### SUMMARY

This report might conclude with several generalizations. First, that methods for the experimental study of group life in laboratory settings are in development, making doubtful the claims that laboratory experi-

mentation would not be possible in sociological studies. Second, the validity of the generalizations coming from such studies is to be judged by the same criteria as those used in field studies. Third, the effective use of group experimentation requires conceptualizing of a more precise kind and of a higher level of abstraction than we often perform. Fourth, the study of these laboratory populations again raises the need for work on methods of observation, recording, and of analysis that are suited to the nature of collective life as structured interaction.

## DEATH BY DIESELIZATION: A CASE STUDY IN THE REACTION TO TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE

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**I**N the following instance it is proposed that we examine a community confronted with radical change in its basic economic institution and to trace the effects of this change throughout the social structure. From these facts it may be possible in some degree to anticipate the resultant changing attitudes and values of the people in the community, particularly as they reveal whether or not there is a demand for modification of the social structure or a shift in function from one institution to another. Some of the implications of the facts discovered may be valuable in anticipating future social change.

The community chosen for examination has been disrupted by the dieselization of the railroads. Since the railroad is among the oldest of those industries organized around steam, and since therefore the social structure of railroad communities is a product of long-continued processes of adaptation to the technology of steam, the sharp contrast between the technological requirements of the steam engine and those of the diesel should clearly reveal the changes in social structure required. Any one of a great many railroad towns might have been chosen for examination. However, many railroad towns are only partly dependent upon the railroad for their

existence. In them many of the effects which take place are blurred and not easily distinguishable by the observer. Thus, the "normal" railroad town may not be the best place to see the consequences of dieselization. For this reason a one-industry town was chosen for examination.

In a sense it is an "ideal type" railroad town, and hence not complicated by other extraneous economic factors. It lies in the desert and is here given the name "Caliente" which is the Spanish adjective for "hot." Caliente was built in a break in an eighty-mile canyon traversing the desert. Its reason for existence was to service the steam locomotive. There are few resources in the area to support it on any other basis, and such as they are they would contribute more to the growth and maintenance of other little settlements in the vicinity than to that of Caliente. So long as the steam locomotive was in use, Caliente was a necessity. With the adoption of the diesel it became obsolescent.

This stark fact was not, however, part of the expectations of the residents of Caliente. Based upon the "certainty" of the railroad's need for Caliente, men built their homes there, frequently of concrete and brick, at

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the cost, in many cases, of their life savings. The water system was laid in cast iron which will last for centuries. Business men erected substantial buildings which could be paid for only by profits gained through many years of business. Four churches evidence the faith of Caliente people in the future of their community. A twenty-seven bed hospital serves the town. Those who built it thought that their investment was as well warranted as the fact of birth, sickness, accident and death. They believed in education. Their school buildings represent the investment of savings guaranteed by bonds and future taxes. There is a combined park and play field which, together with a recently modernized theatre, has been serving recreational needs. All these physical structures are material evidence of the expectations, morally and legally sanctioned and financially funded, of the people of Caliente. This is a normal and rational aspect of the culture of all "solid" and "sound" communities.

Similarly normal are the social organizations. These include Rotary, Chamber of Commerce, Masons, Odd Fellows, American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. There are the usual unions, churches, and myriad little clubs to which the women belong. In short, here is the average American community with normal social life, subscribing to normal American codes. Nothing its members had been taught would indicate that the whole pattern of this normal existence depended completely upon a few elements of technology which were themselves in flux. For them the continued use of the steam engine was as "natural" a phenomenon as any other element in their physical environment. Yet suddenly their life pattern was destroyed by the announcement that the railroad was moving its division point, and with it destroying the economic basis of Caliente's existence.

Turning from this specific community for a moment, let us examine the technical changes which took place and the reasons for the change. Division points on a railroad are established by the frequency with which the rolling stock must be serviced and the operat-

ing crews changed. At the turn of the century when this particular road was built, the engines produced wet steam at low temperatures. The steel in the boilers was of comparatively low tensile strength and could not withstand the high temperatures and pressures required for the efficient use of coal and water. At intervals of roughly a hundred miles the engine had to be disconnected from the train for service. At these points the cars also were inspected and if they were found to be defective they were either removed from the train or repaired while it was standing and the new engine being coupled on. Thus the location of Caliente, as far as the railroad was concerned, was a function of boiler temperature and pressure and the resultant service requirements of the locomotive.

Following World War II, the high tensile steels developed to create superior artillery and armor were used for locomotives. As a consequence it was possible to utilize steam at higher temperatures and pressure. Speed, power, and efficiency were increased and the distance between service intervals was increased.

The "ideal distance" between freight divisions became approximately 150 to 200 miles whereas it had formerly been 100 to 150. Wherever possible, freight divisions were increased in length to that formerly used by passenger trains, and passenger divisions were lengthened from two old freight divisions to three. Thus towns located at 100 miles from a terminal became obsolescent, those at 200 became freight points only, and those at three hundred miles became passenger division points.

The increase in speed permitted the train crews to make the greater distance in the time previously required for the lesser trip, and roughly a third of the train and engine crews, car inspectors, boilermakers and machinists and other service men were dropped. The towns thus abandoned were crossed off the social record of the nation in the adjustment to these technological changes in the use of the steam locomotive. Caliente, located midway between terminals about six hundred miles apart, survived. In fact it

gained, since the less frequent stops caused an increase in the service required of the maintenance crews at those points where it took place. However, the introduction of the change to diesel engines projected a very different future.

In its demands for service the diesel engine differs almost completely from a steam locomotive. It requires infrequent, highly skilled service, carried on within very close limits, in contrast to the frequent, crude adjustments required by the steam locomotive. Diesels operate at about 35 per cent efficiency, in contrast to the approximately 4 per cent efficiency of the steam locomotives in use after World War II in the United States. Hence diesels require much less frequent stops for fuel and water. These facts reduce their operating costs sufficiently to compensate for their much higher initial cost.

In spite of these reductions in operating costs the introduction of diesels ordinarily would have taken a good deal of time. The change-over would have been slowed by the high capital costs of retooling the locomotive works, the long period required to recapture the costs of existing steam locomotives, and the effective resistance of the workers. World War II altered each of these factors. The locomotive works were required to make the change in order to provide marine engines, and the costs of the change were assumed by the government. Steam engines were used up by the tremendous demand placed upon the railroads by war traffic. The costs were recaptured by shipping charges. Labor shortages were such that labor resistance was less formidable and much less acceptable to the public than it would have been in peace time. Hence the shift to diesels was greatly facilitated by the war. In consequence, every third and sometimes every second division point suddenly became technologically obsolescent.

Caliente, like all other towns in similar plight, is supposed to accept its fate in the name of "progress." The general public, as shippers and consumers of shipped goods, reaps the harvest in better, faster service and eventually perhaps in lower charges. A

few of the workers in Caliente will also share the gains, as they move to other division points, through higher wages. They will share in the higher pay, though whether this will be adequate to compensate for the costs of moving no one can say. Certain it is that their pay will not be adjusted to compensate for their specific losses. They will gain only as their seniority gives them the opportunity to work. These are those who gain. What are the losses, and who bears them?

The railroad company can figure its losses at Caliente fairly accurately. It owns 39 private dwellings, a modern clubhouse with 116 single rooms, and a twelve-room hotel with dining-room and lunch-counter facilities. These now become useless, as does much of the fixed physical equipment used for servicing trains. Some of the machinery can be used elsewhere. Some part of the roundhouse can be used to store unused locomotives and standby equipment. The rest will be torn down to save taxes. All of these costs can be entered as capital losses on the statement which the company draws up for its stockholders and for the government. Presumably they will be recovered by the use of the more efficient engines.

What are the losses that may not be entered on the company books? The total tax assessment in Caliente was \$9,946.80 for the year 1948, of which \$6,103.39 represented taxes assessed on the railroad. Thus the railroad valuation was about three-fifths that of the town. This does not take into account tax-free property belonging to the churches, the schools, the hospital, or the municipality itself which included all the public utilities. Some ideas of the losses sustained by the railroad in comparison with the losses of others can be surmised by reflecting on these figures for real estate alone. The story is an old one and often repeated in the economic history of America. It represents the "loss" side of a profit and loss system of adjusting to technological change. Perhaps for sociological purposes we need an answer to the question "just who pays?"

Probably the greatest losses are suffered by the older "non-operating" employees. Seniority among these men extends only

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within the local shop and craft. A man with twenty-five years' seniority at Caliente has no claim on the job of a similar craftsman at another point who has only twenty-five days' seniority. Moreover, some of the skills formerly valuable are no longer needed. The boilermaker, for example, knows that jobs for his kind are disappearing and he must enter the ranks of the unskilled. The protection and status offered by the union while he was employed have become meaningless now that he is no longer needed. The cost of this is high both in loss of income and in personal demoralization.

Operating employees also pay. Their seniority extends over a division, which in this case includes three division points. The older members can move from Caliente and claim another job at another point, but in many cases they move leaving a good portion of their life savings behind. The younger men must abandon their stake in railroad employment. The loss may mean a new apprenticeship in another occupation, at a time in life when apprenticeship wages are not adequate to meet the obligations of mature men with families. A steam engine hauled 2,000 tons up the hill out of Caliente with the aid of two helpers. The four-unit diesel in command of one crew handles a train of 5,000 tons alone. Thus, to handle the same amount of tonnage required only about a fourth the man-power it formerly took. Three out of four men must start out anew at something else.

The local merchants pay. The boarded windows, half-empty shelves, and abandoned store buildings bear mute evidence of these costs. The older merchants stay, and pay; the younger ones, and those with no stake in the community will move; but the value of their property will in both cases largely be gone.

The bondholders will pay. They can't foreclose on a dead town. If the town were wiped out altogether, that which would remain for salvage would be too little to satisfy their claims. Should the town continue there is little hope that taxes adequate to carry the overhead of bonds and day-to-day expenses could be secured by taxing the

diminished number of property owners or employed persons.

The church will pay. The smaller congregations cannot support services as in the past. As the church men leave, the buildings will be abandoned.

Homeowners will pay. A hundred and thirty-five men owned homes in Caliente. They must accept the available means of support or rent to those who do. In either case the income available will be far less than that on which the houses were built. The least desirable homes will stand unoccupied, their value completely lost. The others must be revalued at a figure far below that at which they were formerly held.

In a word, those pay who are, by traditional American standards, *most moral*. Those who have raised children see friendships broken and neighborhoods disintegrated. The childless more freely shake the dust of Caliente from their feet. Those who built their personalities into the structure of the community watch their work destroyed. Those too wise or too selfish to have entangled themselves in community affairs suffer no such qualms. The chain store can pull down its sign, move its equipment and charge the costs off against more profitable and better located units, and against taxes. The local owner has no such alternatives. In short, "good citizens" who assumed family and community responsibility are the greatest losers. Nomads suffer least.

The people of Caliente are asked to accept as "normal" this strange inversion of their expectations. It is assumed that they will, without protest or change in sentiment, accept the dictum of the "law of supply and demand." Certainly they must comply in part with this dictum. While their behavior in part reflects this compliance, there are also other changes perhaps equally important in their attitudes and values.

The first reaction took the form of an effort at community self-preservation. Caliente became visible to its inhabitants as a real entity, as meaningful as the individual personalities which they had hitherto been taught to see as atomistic or nomadic elements. Community survival was seen as pre-



requisite to many of the individual values that had been given precedence in the past. The organized community made a search for new industry, citing elements of community organization themselves as reasons why industry should move to Caliente. But the conditions that led the railroad to abandon the point made the place even less attractive to new industry than it had hitherto been. Yet the effort to keep the community a going concern persisted.

There was also a change in sentiment. In the past the glib assertion that progress spelled sacrifice could be offered when some distant group was a victim of technological change. There was no such reaction when the event struck home. The change can probably be as well revealed as in any other way by quoting from the *Caliente Herald*:

... (over the) years ... (this) ... railroad and its affiliates ... became to this writer his ideal of a railroad empire. The (company) ... appeared to take much more than the ordinary interest of big railroads in the development of areas adjacent to its lines, all the while doing a great deal for the communities large and small through which the lines passed.

Those were the days creative of (its) enviable reputation as one of the finest, most progressive—and most human—of American railroads, enjoying the confidence and respect of employees, investors, and communities alike!

One of the factors bringing about this confidence and respect was the consideration shown communities which otherwise would have suffered serious blows when division and other changes were effected. A notable example was ... (a town) ... where the shock of division change was made almost unnoticed by installation of a rolling stock reclamation point, which gave (that town) an opportunity to hold its community intact until tourist traffic and other industries could get better established—with the result that ... (it) ... is now on a firm foundation. And through this display of consideration for a community, the railroad gained friends—not only among the people of ... (that town) ... who were perhaps more vocal than others, but also among thousands of others throughout the country on whom this action made an indelible impression.

But things seem to have changed materially during the last few years, the ... (company) ... seems to this writer to have gone all out

for glamor and the dollars which glamorous people have to spend, sadly neglecting one of the principal factors which helped to make ... (it) ... great: that fine consideration of communities and individuals, as well as employees, who have been happy in cooperating steadfastly with the railroad in times of stress as well as prosperity. The loyalty of these people and communities seems to count for little with the ... (company) ... of this day, though other "Big Business" corporations do not hesitate to expend huge sums to encourage the loyalty of community and people which old friends of ... (the company) ... have been happy to give voluntarily.

Ever since the ... railroad was constructed ... Caliente has been a key town on the railroad. It is true, the town owed its inception to the railroad, but it has paid this back in becoming one of the most attractive communities on the system. With nice homes, streets and parks, good school ... good city government ... Caliente offers advantages that most big corporations would be gratified to have for their employees—a homey spot where they could live their lives of contentment, happiness and security.

Caliente's strategic location, midway of some of the toughest road on the entire system has been a lifesaver for the road several times when floods have wrecked havoc on the roadbed in the canyon above and below Caliente. This has been possible through storage in Caliente of large stocks of repair material and equipment—and not overlooking manpower—which has thus become available on short notice.

... But (the railroad) or at least one of its big officials appearing to be almost completely divorced from policies which made this railroad great, has ordered changes which are about as inconsiderate as anything of which "Big Business" has ever been accused! Employees who have given the best years of their lives to this railroad are cut off without anything to which they can turn, many of them with homes in which they have taken much pride; while others, similarly with nice homes, are told to move elsewhere and are given runs that only a few will be able to endure from a physical standpoint, according to common opinion.

Smart big corporations the country over encourage their employees to own their own homes—and loud are their boasts when the percentage of such employees is favorable! But in contrast, a high (company) official is reported to have said only recently that "a railroad man has no

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business owning a home!" Quite a departure from what has appeared to be (company) tradition.

It is difficult for the Herald to believe that this official however "big" he is, speaks for the ... (company) ... when he enunciates a policy that, carried to the latter, would make tramps of (company) employees and their families!

No thinking person wants to stand in the way of progress, but true progress is not made when it is overshadowed by cold-blooded disregard for the loyalty of employees, their families, and the communities which have developed in the good American way through the decades of loyal service and good citizenship.

This editorial, written by a member of all the service clubs, approved by Caliente business men, and quoted with approbation by the most conservative members of the community, is significant of changing sentiment.

The people of Caliente continually profess their belief in "The American Way," but like the editor of the *Herald* they criticize decisions made solely in pursuit of profit, even though these decisions grow out of a clear-cut case of technological "progress." They feel that the company should have based its decision upon consideration for loyalty, citizenship, and community morale. They assume that the company should regard the seniority rights of workers as important considerations, and that it should consider significant the effect of permanent unemployment upon old and faithful employees. They look upon community integrity as an important community asset. Caught between the support of a "rational" system of "economic" forces and laws, and sentiments which they accept as significant values, they seek a solution to their dilemma which will at once permit them to retain their expected rewards for continued adherence to past norms and to defend the social system which they have been taught to revere but which now offers them a stone instead of bread.

#### IMPLICATIONS

We have shown that those in Caliente whose behavior most nearly approached the ideal taught are hardest hit by change. On the other hand, those seemingly farthest removed in conduct from that ideal are either

rewarded or pay less of the costs of change than do those who follow the ideal more closely. Absentee owners, completely anonymous, and consumers who are not expected to co-operate to make the gains possible are rewarded most highly, while the local people who must cooperate to raise productivity pay dearly for having contributed.

In a society run through sacred mysteries whose rationale it is not man's privilege to criticize, such incongruities may be explained away. Such a society may even provide some "explanation" which makes them seem rational. In a secular society, supposedly defended rationally upon scientific facts, in which the pragmatic test "Does it work?" is continually applied, such discrepancy between expectation and realization is difficult to reconcile.

Defense of our traditional system of assessing the costs of technological change is made on the theory that the costs of such change are more than offset by the benefits to "society as a whole." However, it is difficult to show the people of Caliente just why *they* should pay for advances made to benefit others whom they have never known and who, in their judgment, have done nothing to justify such rewards. Any action that will permit the people of Caliente to levy the costs of change upon those who will benefit from them will be morally justifiable to the people of Caliente. Appeals to the general welfare leave them cold and the compulsions of the price system are not felt to be self-justifying "natural laws" but are regarded as being the specific consequence of specific bookkeeping decisions as to what should be included in the costs of change. They seek to change these decisions through social action. They do not consider that the "American Way" consists primarily of acceptance of the market as the final arbiter of their destiny. Rather they conceive that the system as a whole exists to render "justice," and if the consequences of the price system are such as to produce what they consider to be "injustice" they proceed to use some other institution as a means to reverse or offset the effects of the price system. Like other groups faced with the same situation,

those in Caliente seize upon the means available to them. The operating employees had in their unions a device to secure what they consider to be their rights. Union practices developed over the years make it possible for the organized workers to avoid some of the costs of change which they would otherwise have had to bear. Feather-bed rules, make-work practices, restricted work weeks, train length legislation and other similar devices were designed to permit union members to continue work even when "efficiency" dictated that they be disemployed. Members of the "Big Four" in Caliente joined with their fellows in demanding not only the retention of previously existing rules, but the imposition of new ones such as that requiring the presence of a third man in the diesel cab. For other groups there was available only the appeal to the company that it establish some other facility at Caliente, or alternatively a demand that "government" do something. One such demand took the form of a request to the Interstate Commerce Commission that it require inspection of rolling stock at Caliente. This request was denied.

It rapidly became apparent to the people of Caliente that they could not gain their objectives by organized community action nor individual endeavor but there was hope that by adding their voices to those of others similarly injured there might be hope of solution. They began to look to the activities of the whole labor movement for succor. Union strategy which forced the transfer of control from the market to government mediation or to legislation and operation was widely approved on all sides. This was not confined to those only who were currently seeking rule changes but was equally approved by the great bulk of those in the community who had been hit by the change. Cries of public outrage at their demands for make-work rules were looked upon as coming from those at best ignorant, ill-informed or stupid, and at worst as being the hypocritical efforts of others to gain at the workers' expense. When the union threat of a national strike for rule changes was met by government seizure, Caliente workers

like most of their compatriots across the country welcomed this shift in control, secure in their belief that if "justice" were done they could only be gainers by government intervention. These attitudes are not "class" phenomena purely nor are they merely occupational sentiments. They result from the fact that modern life, with the interdependence that it creates, particularly in one-industry communities, imposes penalties far beyond the membership of the groups presumably involved in industry. When make-work rules contributed to the livelihood of the community, the support of the churches, and the taxes which maintain the schools; when feather-bed practices determine the standard of living, the profits of the business man and the circulation of the press; when they contribute to the salary of the teacher and the preacher; they can no longer be treated as accidental, immoral, deviant or temporary. Rather they are elevated into the position of emergent morality and law. Such practices generate a morality which serves them just as the practices in turn nourish those who participate in and preserve them. They are as firmly a part of what one "has a right to expect" from industry as are parity payments to the farmer bonuses and pensions to the veterans, assistance to the aged, tariffs to the industrialist, or the sanctity of property to those who inherit. On the other hand, all these practices conceivably help create a structure that is particularly vulnerable to changes such as that described here.

Practices which force the company to spend in Caliente part of what has been saved through technological change, or failing that, to reward those who are forced to move by increased income for the same service, are not, by the people of Caliente, considered to be unjustifiable. Confronted by a choice between the old means and resultant "injustice" which their use entails, and the acceptance of new means which they believe will secure them the "justice" they hold to be their right, they are willing to abandon (in so far as this particular area is concerned) the liberal state and the

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omniscient market in favor of something that works to provide "justice."

The study of the politics of pressure groups will show how widely the reactions of Caliente people are paralleled by those of other groups. Amongst them it is in politics that the decisions as to who will pay and who will profit are made. Through organized political force railroaders maintain the continuance of rules which operate to their benefit rather than for "the public good" or "the general welfare." Their defense of these practices is found in the argument that only so can their rights be protected against the power of other groups who hope to gain at their expense by functioning through the corporation and the market.

We should expect that where there are other groups similarly affected by technological change, there will be similar efforts to change the operation of our institutions. The case cited is not unique. Not only is it duplicated in hundreds of railroad division points but also in other towns abandoned by management for similar reasons. Changes in the location of markets or in the method of calculating transportation costs, changes in technology making necessary the use of new materials, changes due to the exhaustion of old sources of materials, changes to avoid labor costs such as the shift of the textile industry from New England to the South, changes to expedite decentralization to avoid the consequences of bombing, or those of congested living, all give rise to the question, "Who benefits, and at whose expense?"

The accounting practices of the corporation permit the entry only of those costs which have become "legitimate" claims upon the company. But the tremendous risks borne by the workers and frequently all the members of the community in an era of technological change are real phenomena. Rapid shifts in technology which destroy the "legitimate" expectations derived from past experience force the recognition of new obli-

gations. Such recognition may be made voluntarily as management foresees the necessity, or it may be thrust upon it by political or other action. Rigidity of property concepts, the legal structure controlling directors in what they may admit to be costs, and the stereotyped nature of the "economics" used by management make rapid change within the corporation itself difficult even in a "free democratic society." Hence while management is likely to be permitted or required to initiate technological change in the interest of profits, it may and probably will be barred from compensating for the social consequences certain to arise from those changes. Management thus shuts out the rising flood of demands in its cost-accounting only to have them reappear in its tax accounts, in legal regulations or in new insistent union demands. If economics fails to provide an answer to social demands then politics will be tried.

It is clear that while traditional morality provides a means of protecting some groups from the consequences of technological change, or some method of meliorating the effects of change upon them, other large segments of the population are left unprotected. It should be equally clear that rather than a quiet acquiescence in the finality and justice of such arrangements, there is an active effort to force new devices into being which will extend protection to those hitherto expected to bear the brunt of these costs. A good proportion of these inventions increasingly call for the intervention of the state. To call such arrangements immoral, unpatriotic, socialistic or to hurl other epithets at them is not to deal effectively with them. They are as "natural" as are the "normal" reactions for which we have "rational" explanations based upon some pre-scientific generalization about human nature such as "the law of supply and demand" or "the inevitability of progress." To be dealt with effectively they will have to be understood and treated as such.

## NOTES ON RESEARCH AND TEACHING



### SOME CHANGES IN COURTSHIP BEHAVIOR IN THREE GENERATIONS OF OHIO WOMEN

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E. W. Burgess and Harvey Locke have suggested that a three-generation study "would make possible a functional interpretation of courtship behavior in its relation to the systems of family relations and the community situations of the three periods."<sup>1</sup> The author of this article has attempted to implement empirically certain aspects of this suggestion.

The study was confined to young married college-trained women, their mothers, and their maternal grandmothers. A further limitation was to focus the study on *the first courtship terminating in marriage* since some of the mothers and grandmothers had been married more than once.

After development and pre-testing, a total of 1,575 questionnaires was distributed during the period from February, 1949, through August, 1949, mostly at The Ohio State University in the city of Columbus, Ohio. The return of 665 individual questionnaires constituted 43 per cent of all the questionnaires released. The round figure of two hundred cases at each generation level was chosen for the sample because this was the approximate distribution of the returns and, further, there was the added advantage of maintaining an equal number for each generation.

The background characteristics of the respondents were as follows: The ages of the women of the first generation ranged from 48 to 95, a span of 47 years. For the second generation, the range was from 36 to 70 years of age, or a span of 34 years. Lastly, the ages of the women of

the third generation ranged from 17 to 40, a span of 23 years.

Twenty-five to thirty years existed between modal ages of pairs of succeeding generations, suggesting that the study attempts to extend back in time about sixty years. The modal ages of the three generations, starting with the first generation, were 78 years, 48 years, and 23 years, respectively.

In regard to the birthplaces of the respondents, well over 50 per cent of each generation were born in Ohio. The exact numbers were 111 of the first generation, 118 of the second generation, and 140 of the third generation. These were both born and reared in Ohio. The remainder of the women were born elsewhere but mainly in states adjacent to Ohio.

As to the religious affiliation of the respondents, approximately 85 per cent of each generation were Protestant, while Catholics comprised 7 per cent of the sample and Jews 6 per cent. The remaining two per cent claimed no religious affiliation.

The highest school level attained by the first generation was the elementary school, with 116 out of 200 women reporting an educational level of eight grades or less. The second-generation respondents were mostly high school trained, with 107 out of 200 reporting that they had terminated their education somewhere between the ninth and twelfth grade. The third generation were predominantly of college level, 141 out of 200 having attended or completed college. The remaining 59 third-generation women had all graduated from high school.

Still another background factor related to the growing opportunity of the generations to support themselves in occupations other than housework. An increasing tendency to enter the professions or managerial positions as well as clerical and sales work was evident. Whereas only three grandmothers could state that they did clerical and sales work, sixty-two of the granddaughters had worked in an office before marriage. Whereas 81 per cent of the first-generation women did only housework prior to their marriage, mainly in the home of their parents, only

\* The author wishes to acknowledge the guidance and aid given him by the co-advisors for the study, Dr. John F. Cuber and Dr. Raymond F. Sletto, The Ohio State University.

<sup>1</sup> Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey Locke, *The Family, From Institution to Companionship*, New York: American Book Company, 1945, p. 394.

31 per cent of the third generation did the same thing approximately sixty years later.

Finally, the first generation was mainly rural in background whereas the second generation was evenly divided between rural and urban, and the third generation was overwhelmingly (74 per cent) urban.

A summary of the chief background characteristics of the group of women indicates the following: The third-generation respondents consisted of young, college trained, native born, white, urban, Protestant Ohioans who had experienced ever-widening economic opportunities compared with their maternal grandmothers. The second generation were middle aged, high school educated, native born, white, half rural, half urban, Protestant Ohioans who were somewhat deprived of the privileges later enjoyed by their daughters. The first-generation women were elderly, elementary school educated, native born, white, rural, Protestant Ohioans in their rearing.

The differences between the three generations of women appear to be age, school level, rural-urban rearing, and opportunities to be employed beyond the parental home. These might be expected to influence differentially the courtship behavior engaged in by the three generations.

While dating is not necessarily a part of courtship, it does constitute the first activity in the process of leaving the parental home. Accordingly, the women of each generation were asked whether their parents approved of the boys whom they dated. Table 1 shows the general pattern:

TABLE 1. PARENTAL APPROVAL OF BOYS DATED IN THE EARLY COURTSHIPS OF RESPONDENTS FROM THREE MARRIED FEMALE GENERATIONS

Parental Approval	Generations		
	First	Second	Third
Did not approve	62	91	109
Did approve	104	89	69
Uncertain	25	20	22
Unknown	9	0	0
Total	200	200	200

The pattern that appears is one of increasing frequency of disapproval of boys being dated, with the third generation experiencing the greatest degree of parental disapproval.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Chi square equals 19.62, P equals less than .01.

There are a number of possible interpretations of this pattern. One would be that it reflects, in part, the preference of each generation for behavior more akin to that of its girlhood. Another might be that the third generation has greater opportunity for dating boys concerning whom the mothers (second generation) might have objections. Still another interpretation might be that the greater controls placed upon the behavior of a young woman in rural areas of years ago, as well as the limited roles she could play, could account for the women of the first generation achieving the highest approval of the men who dated them. Some support for this interpretation is obtained by the returns on the matter of how the women behaved in each generation when they did experience parental disapproval.

Twenty-three per cent of the women of the first generation yielded to their parents' wishes rather than attempting to change the minds of their elders. Only 9.5 per cent of the women of the third generation yielded to their parents' wishes when they differed about dating certain men. By contrast, 49.5 per cent of the women of the third generation used argument and persuasion to change their parents' attitudes, whereas only 13 per cent of the women of the first generation resorted to such devices to secure parental approval.<sup>3</sup>

Control by the local community during the girlhood of the maternal grandmothers and the restructuring of such controls in the girlhood of the granddaughters were evident in the returns in the various generations on the place of meeting their mates. Forty-three per cent of the maternal grandmothers named the general community or the immediate neighborhood around the parental home as the place where they met their mates. Only 15 per cent of the granddaughters had the same experience two generations later. Contacts made in church services and in the home accounted for the additional marriages in the first generation, while the third-generation women tended to disregard these avenues and relied more heavily upon school and secondary-group situations to find their mates. A multiplicity of places served as meeting points for the third generation while the range of possibilities for the maternal grandmothers was quite limited.<sup>4</sup>

With the first generation quite limited in the

<sup>3</sup> Chi square equals 62.70, P equals less than .01.

<sup>4</sup> Chi square equals 103.35, P equals less than .01.



range of personal associations and the second and third generations experiencing a greater range, one would expect most women of the later generations to give serious consideration to several possible mates before making a choice. The findings of the study do not support this assumption. Table 2 presents the number of persons regarded quite seriously as possible mates by each generation:

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF PERSONS REGARDED SERIOUSLY AS POSSIBLE MATES BY RESPONDENTS FROM THREE MARRIED FEMALE GENERATIONS

Number of Persons	Generations		
	First	Second	Third
1	152	124	116
2	31	52	50
3	9	18	23
4	1	3	10
5	1	1	1
8	0	1	0
Unknown	6	1	0
Total	200	200	200

Most of the women in each generation claim to have considered seriously only one man, the one they finally married.<sup>5</sup>

Another point of similarity in the courtship patterns of the three generations is the age of entrance into the courtship which led to the first marriage. The mean age at first date with the man who eventually became her husband was 19.37 for the grandmothers. The mean age at first date for the second and the third generation was 18.90 and 19.19, respectively. No significant difference appears when critical ratios are computed.<sup>6</sup>

A third point of similarity appears to be the

<sup>5</sup> H. B. Mann and D. R. Whitney, "On a Test of Whether One of Two Random Variables Is Stochastically Larger Than the Other," *The Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, 18 (March, 1947), 50-60.

By applying the U-Test to Table 2, the amount of chance difference operating between the generations is obtained. Between the first and the second generation, U equals 29 or a .399 chance difference present. Between the first and the third generation, U equals 28 or .36 chance difference. Finally, between the second and the third generation, U equals 30 or .439 chance difference. With so much chance operating, no significant differences appear between the generations.

<sup>6</sup> Between the first and second generation, C.R. equals 1.34.

paying of costs incident to dating. In ninety per cent of the cases, the man financed the dating activities in all generations.

Notes appended to the questionnaires by the grandmothers aid in interpreting this finding. Many of the grandmothers noted that there was little need to spend money in rural areas in their time. Hence, the financing of the dates by the men of the first generation was comparatively meager in terms of present-day standards. Some grandmothers replied that the pattern of "home-dating" or "parlor dates" gave them an opportunity to display their culinary and home-making abilities before their potential mates, a practice denied the third generation due to the great amount of time spent outside their homes. Ostensibly, it was a "man's world" and the men "naturally paid" for all the dates. Subtly, however, the women of the first generation took care of the "financing" of the dates, and the conclusion that men *always* paid in each generation is not quite correct.

Differences appear when the degree of chaperonage experienced by each generation is examined. Fifty-two per cent of the first-generation respondents reported that they were *never* chaperoned. This compared with 36 per cent of the second generation and 40 per cent of the third generation who reported no chaperonage.<sup>7</sup> A factor influencing this finding is possibly a change in the definition of chaperonage itself. Chaperonage may be formal or informal, consciously practiced or unconsciously practiced. Since many of the first generation reported that their dates centered about the church, home, and community, they felt they were not chaperoned in the formal sense of the word. They were, however, under informal surveillance when in the company of young men whether they were aware of it or not. Those who were aware of chaperonage in the first generation did report a high degree of chaperonage compared with their granddaughters who experienced formal chaperonage only occasionally.

When modal averages are employed, the first generation had one or more dates per week before engagement, the second generation about two dates per week, and the third generation four or more dates per week. The first generation median for dating frequency was one date per week, the second generation two per

Between the first and the third generation, C.R. equals 0.54.

Between the second and the third generation, C.R. equals 0.93.

<sup>7</sup> Chi square equals 54.97, P equals less than .01.

week, and the third generation three per week. A direct relationship between frequency of dates per week and the generation concerned is, thus, uncovered. The younger the generation, the higher the frequency of dates per week.<sup>8</sup>

Gift exchanges between men and women in each generation during their courtship give some measure of male-female role differentials. The returns uncovered over two hundred different types of gifts of which the women received the greater share in all generations. This finding suggests the strength of the belief over the past sixty years that the woman is the one whose favor is to be won. Several grandmothers appended a note to the effect that they resented any notion that they courted men. "On the contrary," wrote one grandmother, "men court women, *not* vice versa."

Close examination of the gift exchange lists reveals, nevertheless, an increasing number of gifts given to the men by the women during their courtship. The grandmothers gave gifts to their men rarely. The second generation women, however, began to give gifts to their men more frequently and, by the third generation, the young women were in many cases giving more gifts to the men than they received in turn.

The women in all the generations made a point of visiting the homes of both sets of parents as part of their courtship experience. A frequency of one to two visits per week to the homes of both their parents and their future husbands' parents was recorded by all the generations during their courtships. No significant difference appears between the generations when critical ratios are computed.<sup>9</sup>

Inquiry was made in the questionnaire about items discussed by the respondents and their fiancés concerning their future marriage. Table 3 summarizes the returns.

Approximately one-fourth of the first generation did not discuss a single problem area concerning the future marriage. This follows the earlier pattern that one does not prepare for marriage, one simply encounters marital prob-

<sup>8</sup> C.R. equals 7.25 between the first and second generation.

C.R. equals 11.83 between the first and the third generation.

C.R. equals 3.92 between the second and third generation.

<sup>9</sup> C.R. between first and second generation equals 0.50.

C.R. between first and third generation equals 1.83.

C.R. between second and third generation equals 1.77.

TABLE 3. DISCUSSION OF ITEMS IMPORTANT TO THE FUTURE MARRIAGE DURING COURTSHIPS OF RESPONDENTS FROM THREE MARRIED FEMALE GENERATIONS \*

Items Discussed	Generations		
	First	Second	Third
Handling money in marriage	28	48	28
Having children	29	80	73
Place to live	111	117	62
Religion	56	62	48
Wife working	7	31	49
Husband's occupation	48	60	54
Other items	1	1	4
All of the above items	9	30	98
None of the above items	51	23	3
Unknown	2	0	0

\* Totals are not presented as respondents were permitted to check more than one response.

lems and "works them out" as "common sense" dictates. Forty-nine per cent of the third generation, on the other hand, discussed every item suggested in the questionnaire. This corresponds to the 4.5 per cent of the first generation who also discussed every item suggested in the questionnaire. Only 1.5 per cent of the third generation failed to discuss any items suggested as possible problem areas in the future marriage. These were, no doubt, serious discussions, since 85 per cent of each generation experienced only one engagement, the one that led to their first marriage.

When medians are compared, there appears to be a steady decline in the length of engagement as one approaches the younger generations. The first-generation women were engaged approximately 11 months, the second generation 8 or 9 months, and the third generation 6 months. The means for the length of engagement in months for the first, second, and third generations were 8.99, 8.45, and 7.18 respectively.<sup>10</sup> In other words, the first generation spent considerable time in engagements but did not discuss problem areas relating to their happiness in marriage, whereas the younger generations spent less time in engagements but probed into troublesome matters which could jeopardize the marriage.

It is suggested that perhaps the first-genera-

<sup>10</sup> C.R. between the first and second generation equals 1.76, between the first and the third generation 4.30, and between the second and third generation 3.02.

tion women did not need to try to understand their potential mates as they were well acquainted with them. The data, indeed, show that the women of the first generation tended to know their men over longer periods of time than did those of the later generations. Many grandmothers stated that they had known their men for a lifetime. Such a phenomenon was a rarity among the third generation. For example, 19 per cent of the women of the first generation knew their mates one year or less prior to marriage. This compared with 22 per cent of the second-generation women and 29 per cent of the third-generation women. While 23.5 per cent of the women of the first generation knew their men seven or more years prior to marriage, 11.5 per cent of the second-generation women and 12 per cent of the third-generation women knew their men for that length of time. Further, the stability of marital roles did not necessitate much study on the part of the first generation. The variety of possible roles in marriage in the present, however, does necessitate this preliminary discussion on the part of the third generation.

The study found a tendency towards minimizing the age differences between the mates through the three generations. The median age difference for the first generation was four years, for the second generation two years, and for the third generation one and a half years. The mean age difference for the first generation was 4.45, for the second generation 3.78, and for the third generation 2.74 years.<sup>11</sup>

The data on the total length of time involved in the courtships through the three generations revealed a median of one to one-and-a-half years for all the generations. There have been statements by the elder generations that the younger generations have short and hasty courtships. The study indicates that this condition was fairly common even in grandmother's day. No one generation appears to have spent more time on their courtship than another.

In interpreting the findings, it should be quite clear that the methodology and techniques were conditioning factors. There was always the factor of memory losses and distortions on the part of the first generation when required to recall details of relationships of many years ago. The high selectivity of the group with which this

<sup>11</sup> C.R. between the first and second generation was 2.31, between the first and third generation 6.84, and between the second and third generation 4.33.

study dealt also played a part in the returns.<sup>12</sup> This group of women were not "just any" group of young married women with any group of mothers and any group of grandmothers. They were a select group of college-trained women, their mothers, and their mothers' mothers. They were women who were rising in social status as measured by several indices. They may have reported "favorable" data and colored the unfavorable aspects of their respective courtships. Over fifty per cent of the questionnaires distributed were not returned by women who promised to do so. Thus, those who had the disagreeable, the unconventional, the unusual, the disapproved, the unhappy relationships in courtship might conceivably have neglected to return their questionnaires. A full five hundred representing each generation level as originally planned would have modified this possibility somewhat. Finally, the aspects of courtship selected for study might possibly be the very ones that would not display much change through the generations. All aspects of courtship behavior were not investigated, and the omission of sexual and other types of behavior which possibly would have manifested some changes through the years might account for the stability of some of the returns.

It appears to be true that as a whole the social controls of the past remain strong and unshaken. They are changing only at specific points such as we have enumerated. These changes began at least sixty years ago and their full import is not yet manifest. It is becoming increasingly evident that the older view that marriage really required no preparation is being challenged by the younger generations who believe in giving their courtships much forethought and attention. Marriage educators have advocated for some time careful matching of mates and have pointed to the desirability of exploratory study of certain aspects of marriage. This investigation suggests that, whether by formal or informal means, these ideas have at least begun to penetrate the college trained, middle class, Protestant group in Ohio.

<sup>12</sup> Some students of methodology and statistical techniques raise the question whether statistical tests of significance or chance are applicable to these data as the assumption is made that a random sample has been taken from a universe from which comparable samples can be obtained. A test of the validity of the findings is needed, which means a repetition of the study by another investigator, as well as study of the factors affecting recall as they are correlated with age.

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MENTAL ABILITY AND CULTURAL  
NEEDS: A PSYCHOCULTURAL INTER-  
PRETATION OF THE INTELLIGENCE  
TEST PERFORMANCE OF CEYLON  
UNIVERSITY ENTRANTS \*

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INTRODUCTION

As a part of the research program of the Department of Sociology on the personality patterns and social structure of Ceylon, a standard test of intelligence was administered to a 50 per cent interval sample of University entrants for the year 1950.<sup>1</sup> In all (with the aid of three "follow-ups"), 212 students were examined out of the 213 originally selected. While the intelligence testing was undertaken primarily as an adjunct to the exploration of other aspects of personality, the pattern of intelligence test scores which resulted was found to have sufficient independent significance in the analysis of Ceylonese personality to warrant a separate account of the findings.

It was decided that the test to be used should be one that was standardized on an American or English population so as to permit cross-cultural comparison. The test finally selected was the *California Test of Mental Maturity* (Ad-

vanced, *Short Form*), a widely employed and carefully standardized test, which reports separate norms for university entrants.<sup>2</sup> However, the main reasons for the choice of this as against others also having the above characteristics were as follows: (1) It is designed as a power rather than a speed test, and it was felt that individuals in an Eastern culture might be unfairly handicapped by a test in which speed was a large factor. (2) It is designed in accordance with the findings of modern factor analysis, and therefore reports separate scores for a number of different types of ability. Not only is this scientifically sounder than the older practice of reporting a single intelligence quotient, but for purposes of intercultural studies such as the present investigation it is more valuable to know the specific areas in which a given people differ from an external norm than it is to know the general level of mental ability.

Because the mother tongue of the sample population included three separate languages, and because the investigator lacked knowledge of them, the entire investigation, including the intelligence test here reported, was conducted in English. In spite of the facts that most of the students' formal education up to the time of testing had been through the medium of English and that university instruction is entirely in English, the necessity of conducting the examinations in this language was accepted with some apprehension. In addition, the intelligence test employed, being designed for use in the United States, naturally contains a number of items which are uniquely American. Even some of the pictorial (non-language) items refer to things that only an American-reared individual could be expected to know, such as the costume of a particular immigrant group. Roughly speaking, about 5 per cent of the items in both the verbal and the non-verbal test sections are culturally biased in this sense. Finally, almost all of the sample population is bilingual, and previous research has indicated that a lower level of intelligence-test performance is to be expected from bilingual as compared to monoglot individuals.<sup>3</sup> For all of these reasons, the hypothesis

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<sup>1</sup> The testing was conducted as the students reported for their medical examination. Mention should be made of the scientific catholicity of Dr. H. Cullumbine, Professor of Physiology, who contributed generously both his own time and the facilities of the Department of Physiology to the success of this study; and of Dr. H. M. P. Perera, the university medical officer whose cooperation is greatly appreciated.

<sup>2</sup> E. T. Sullivan, W. W. Clark, and E. W. Tiegs, *New California Test of Mental Maturity, Advanced 1947 Short Form*, Los Angeles: California Test Bureau, 1947.

<sup>3</sup> In respect to language, the subjects of this study are comparable to the subjects of many previous investigations of bilingual groups in that (1) they start out speaking another language, (2)

was posed that the Ceylonese students should average lower in test scores than the American norms, and that they should achieve a relatively higher score on the non-language test sections as compared to those which demand manipulation of verbal symbols.

Since the standardization of this test is reported in centiles, the average scores reported in this paper are in terms of the median. A median of 50 corresponds to the American average. A score above 50 indicates test performance which is above the average of American university entrants, and a score below 50 indicates lower than American average performance.

#### RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

"Total Mental Factors," which is the general intelligence score of the instrument employed in this investigation and which has the same function as the traditional "IQ," will be examined first.

TABLE 1. CALIFORNIA TEST OF MENTAL MATURITY,  
MEDIAN CENTILE SCORES OF 1950 CEYLON  
UNIVERSITY ENTRANTS, BY SEX

	Males (N=143)	Females (N=69)	Male- Female C.R.
Total Mental Factors	57.0	44.4	2.5
Language Factors	76.8	71.5	1.2
Non-Language Factors	12.0	5.6	2.9

The median Total Mental Factors score for the male students is 57.0, which is seven centile points above the average for American university entrants. Since according to the hypothesis posed in the previous section a lower score is to be expected rather than a higher score, this finding may be taken as evidence indicating that the hypothesis is to be rejected. However, the admission policy of the University of Ceylon is a factor which may invalidate the above conclusion. The policy of many American universities is to admit any applicant who shows signs of capacity to complete the course. The philosophy underlying this admissions policy is that university education is a good in and of itself, and not merely preparation for a better job or a pro-

they gradually change over to English so that by the time they enter school they are fluent in English and by about the age of ten or twelve they speak it almost exclusively, (3) the school language and the language of testing are English.

fession. In sharp contrast is the policy and, apparently, the underlying philosophy of the University of Ceylon. Admission is solely by competitive examination, and of those sitting for the examination only about one-quarter are admitted. It is argued that this is the only practicable policy, because Ceylon cannot afford to provide a university education to all who want it, and because there are not enough suitable jobs available for even the existing university graduates. Thus the entering student populations of the University of Ceylon and of American universities are not strictly comparable. It may be that had the University of Ceylon employed admissions criteria of a more liberal nature, the test scores would have been lower.

The median Total Mental Factors score of the women students on the other hand is 44.4, which is 5.6 centile points below the average of American university entrants. The test performance of the women students therefore does deviate from the American norm in the expected direction. However, the extent of this deviation is not large, and in view of the analysis to be presented of the components which make up this total score, it would seem that an adequate explanation of the lower female score must be based on factors other than those hypothesized. At the present stage of this investigation, no data are available which might give a scientifically valid explanation. However, two factors seem to be operating. First, although parents of male children are generally anxious to have them attend the university, this is not the case in respect to female children. Some parents still do not think it proper for a woman to attend the university. It is possible that this attitude is still prevalent enough to bar from the university a large proportion of the superior girls, and that the average test score of the women students is thereby reduced. This implies, however, that the operation of this restriction is not randomly distributed, e.g. that superior girls will more often be shut out than the less able ones, and it is unlikely that such is the case. In fact, analysis of the social characteristics of the sample indicates that the women students come from families of higher socio-economic status and superior educational attainment as compared to the men.<sup>4</sup> Second,

<sup>4</sup> M. A. Straus, "Family Characteristics and Occupational Choice of University Entrants as Clues to the Social Structure of Ceylon," to be published shortly in the *University of Ceylon Review*.

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one may speculate that the subordinate social position occupied by women in Ceylon with its attendant curtailment of participation in many areas of activity has a limiting effect on the possibilities for intellectual development of Ceylonese women. It is interesting to compare in this connection the American social environment, where there is a tendency on the part of the boys to ridicule school learning and intellectual achievement with the result that girls have quite consistently been found to excel in academic achievement and intelligence tests.<sup>5</sup>

While the above discussion indicates that Ceylonese and American university entrants are groups with quite similar total tests scores, separate examination of each of the two major classes of ability which constitute this total score indicates that the use of a single general measure of intelligence conceals a great deal. These two major components are Language Factors and Non-Language Factors.

The Language Test Data are particularly useful in indicating how well the individual understands relationships expressed in words, such as instructions, conferences, discussions, statements of logical principles or course of action, and the like.

The Non-Language Test Data indicate how well the individual understands relationships among things or objects when language is not involved, such as physical or mechanical relationships.<sup>6</sup>

A number of investigations in England and America have demonstrated that these are relatively independent types of human mental ability, and the data for Ceylon university students reported in Table 1 indicate that for this population, as well as for the standardizing population of American university students, there is a distinct difference between the kinds of ability sampled by the two major test sections.<sup>7</sup> For

the male students, the median Language Factors score is 76.8, whereas the median Non-Language Factors score is only 12.0. For the female students, the median scores are: Language Factors 71.5, and Non-Language Factors 5.6. Thus both the men and the women are above the American average in respect to Language Factors and below the U. S. average in respect to Non-Language Factors. The critical ratios for the differences between the scores on the two test sections are 19.6 for the males, and 18.3 for the females, so that the differences are significant at the .001 level.<sup>8</sup>

The striking thing about the difference between these average scores is that they are in exactly the opposite direction than what would be expected from the hypothesis previously stated. Specifically, it is apparent that English as the language in the Language Factors section of the test did not exert a depressing effect on performance, for not only are the median Language Factors scores higher than the Non-Language Factors scores, but they even exceed by a considerable amount the average score of the American standardizing population, whose native language is English. In fact, it is possible to interpret these scores as indicating that the average Language Factors test performance of the Ceylonese students is superior to what would be expected from over 76 per cent of male and 71 per cent of female American university entrants. On the other hand, in respect to the Non-Language Factors, the average test performance is remarkably low. In the case of male students, the median score is lower than the score which would be expected from 88 per cent of American university entrants, and in the case of female students, the median Ceylonese score is below that which would be expected of 94.4 per cent of American university entrants. In the light of the hypothesis presented concerning the use of English as the testing medium this is certainly a remarkable pattern of mental ability.

On the basis of this comparison between Language and Non-Language Factors test performance, another part of the hypothesis must also

chology, Chaps. 14 and 15, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949.

<sup>8</sup> It should also be mentioned that Mr. K. S. Arulnandhy of the University of Ceylon department of education, who is now engaged in standardizing an intelligence test for use in Ceylon, has found a similar but less pronounced discrepancy between the verbal and the non-verbal items of his experimental test.

<sup>5</sup> H. S. Conrad, H. E. Jones, and H. H. Hsiao, "Sex Differences in Mental Growth and Decline," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 24 (1933), 161; G. M. Kuznets, and O. McNemar, "Sex Differences in Intelligence Test Scores," *39th Year Book, National Society for the Study of Education*, Part I (1940), 211; M. G. Rigg, "The Relative Variability in Intelligence of Boys and Girls," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 56 (1940), 211; L. M. Terman et al., "Psychological Sex Differences," Chap. 19 in *Manual of Child Psychology*, L. Carmichael, ed., New York: Wiley & Sons, 1946.

<sup>6</sup> E. T. Sullivan, W. W. Clark, and E. W. Tiegs, *Manual of Directions, New California Test of Mental Maturity, Advanced 1947 Short Form*, Los Angeles: California Test Bureau, 1947.

<sup>7</sup> A. Anastasi, and J. P. Foley, *Differential Psy-*



be rejected, namely that bilingualism necessarily exerts a depressing effect on the acquisition of the type of skills sampled by a standard test of intelligence. It is true that numerous investigators have reported that bilingual groups are in general inferior in verbal intelligence to those speaking only one language, and that they more nearly approach the monoglot groups when tested in respect to non-verbal functions.<sup>9</sup> The widely accepted but unproved explanation is that one language interferes with the other and reduces the child's mastery of *either* language. However, the demonstration of bilingual inferiority in verbal intelligence does not prove a causal relation between bilingualism *per se* and the low test score. While this explanation is certainly plausible, the findings of this investigation, in which a bilingual group exceeds by a considerable degree the performance of the monoglot standardizing population, throw doubt on this explanation. As in the case of the sex differences previously discussed, one is led to what Frank has called a "psychocultural" rather than a purely psychological explanation of the phenomena of bilingual inferiority.<sup>10</sup> Just as the young male American sub-culture embodies certain values and social roles which tend to depreciate academic achievement *per se* and thus result in the phenomenon of apparent female intellectual superiority for American youth, so it may be that an analogous process is operating in respect to the various bilingual sub-cultural groups (such as Mexican-American, Italian-American, French-Canadian, and so forth) which have been tested. Specifically, it would seem that the low intelligence test scores of bilingual groups are not due to the bilingualism as such, but rather to the

fact that the value systems of these sub-cultures do not emphasize or reward or provide opportunity for practice in the types of skills and abilities sampled by a standard test of mental ability. On the other hand, if we examine a bilingual group which places high value on the type of mental skills sampled by a verbal intelligence test, then the phenomenon of bilingual inferiority does not appear. Supporting evidence for this cultural interpretation of bilingual test performance is contained in the results of Pintner and Arsenian's study of American-born Jewish children in New York City.<sup>11</sup> Four hundred and sixty-nine children were studied, and in contrast to studies of other American bilingual groups, no relationship was found between degree of bilingualism and scores on a verbal intelligence test. Those familiar with the Jewish sub-culture in American society will recognize it as one which lays heavy stress on verbal proficiency and academic achievement. Not only is bilingualism unrelated to the performance of Jewish children on intelligence tests, but the generally high level of verbal proficiency and academic drive of Jewish students is familiar to most educators in America.<sup>12</sup>

In attempting to apply a psychocultural frame of reference to the interpretation of the striking disparity between the level of verbal and non-verbal mental ability of Ceylonese students, a number of things suggest themselves as possible explanatory factors and as subjects for further research. First, in Ceylon, as in many Eastern cultures, membership and participation in the social strata which provide children with a university education has traditionally meant a divorce from and a disdain of the type of manual, practical, and mechanical tasks which are known to be positively correlated with performance on non-language tests of intelligence. There is undoubtedly a carry-over of this tradition in modern Ceylon. Second, verbal scholarship has for ages past been highly regarded in the Orient. It is the poet or the philosopher rather than the scientist or the engineer who has been the object of esteem and prestige. Eastern education has traditionally been exclusively verbal in nature, and to a large extent it still is. There is heavy emphasis on learning by memorization and by

<sup>9</sup> E. M. Barke, and D. E. P. Williams, "A Further Study of the Comparative Intelligence of Children in Certain Bilingual and Monoglot Schools in South Wales," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 8 (1938), 63; N. T. Darcy, "The Effect of Bilingualism upon the Measurement of the Intelligence of Children of Preschool Age," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 37 (1946), 21; T. R. Garth, and O. D. Smith, "The Performance of Full-Blood Indians on Language and Non-Language Intelligence Tests," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 32 (1937), 376; R. Pintner, "Comparison of American and Foreign Children on Intelligence Tests," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 14 (1923), 292.

<sup>10</sup> L. K. Frank, *Society as the Patient: Essays on Culture and Personality*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1948; *Personality and Culture: The Psychocultural Approach*, New York: Hinds, Hayden & Eldredge, 1948.

<sup>11</sup> R. Pintner, and S. Arsenian, "The Relation of Bilingualism to Verbal Intelligence and to School Adjustment," *Journal of Educational Research*, 31 (1937), 255.

<sup>12</sup> L. Wirth, "Education for Survival: the Jews," *American Journal of Sociology*, 48 (1943), 682.

recitation, and it is common in many Ceylon Schools today to hear the children reciting in unison. Third, Ceylon has only recently gained independence after many generations of British rule, and this influence, which is seen in almost every facet of urban Ceylonese life, has included the British tradition of academic scholarship. The assimilation of this particular culture trait undoubtedly was facilitated by its integration with and reinforcement of those aspects of the culture of the educated classes discussed above. Fourth is the competitive examination through which University of Ceylon applicants are selected. This examination is highly verbal in nature, and even science and medicine students must first pass it before they are allowed to take the "practicals." Hence the specific population sampled in this investigation is probably even more highly selected in terms of verbal ability than are other Ceylonese groups of comparable social status. Finally, the role of the Ceylon civil service needs to be mentioned. As a result of the traditional British emphasis—both at home and in the colonies—on a career civil service, and also because these positions were once occupied by Englishmen, the status of the civil servant in Ceylon carries with it rewards and prestige that can only be described as astonishing to the foreign observer. Certainly the contrast with the social and economic position of the American civil servant is extreme. One result of the unique position of the civil service in Ceylon is the intense competition for admittance. The crowning ambition which large numbers of educated Ceylonese have for their sons, is placement in the civil service (or at a lower level, the clerical service); and for their daughters, marriage to a civil servant.<sup>13</sup> Admittance to the Ceylon civil service is possible only by a competitive examination taken prior to the candidates' 23rd birthday. This examination in a very real sense defines the socially approved and rewarded types of ability; and the abilities which it so defines are traditionally academic, with a heavy emphasis on facility with the English language.

<sup>13</sup> Because of the existence of the dowry system, the fact that civil servants are considered desirable husbands is of much greater importance in Ceylon than a similar attitude would be in a Western country; the civil servant is in a position to command a larger dowry than men who are otherwise comparable.

## CONCLUSIONS

The conditions just described may be taken as indictative of the existence of an integrated culture complex, composed of both indigenous and assimilated culture traits, which has the effect of defining a set of role behaviors characteristic of certain strata in this culture. The process of taking these roles, and of growing up in the circumstances common to this stratum of Ceylonese society, provides the most acceptable explanation of the pattern of mental ability analyzed in this paper. In spite of the wide gulf between social classes in Ceylon, there is some indication that elements of this value system are not restricted to the urban educated classes, but have to some extent been diffused throughout almost all social groups in the island. Further investigations are in progress to test this viewpoint, and to explore the concept of national character in the context of Ceylonese life, and major focus will be on the diverse groupings and sub-cultures within Ceylonese society.

## EVIDENCES OF DISPARITY BETWEEN THE HINDU PRACTICE OF CASTE AND THE IDEAL TYPE

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In the literature dealing with social organization and class stratification, the Hindu social order is frequently referred to as providing the clearest example of caste. It is usually assumed that in actual practice Hindu social behavior has followed the ideal pattern. Without denying that India has for centuries been socially organized on a predominantly caste order, we propose to review some evidence pertaining to the question of whether Hindu society has adhered as closely to the ideal caste type as many have supposed.

It is necessary first to reach a definition of *caste*, against which standard we can then evaluate Hindu practice. We must arbitrarily decide where we are to find our measuring standard of caste. We may seek our concept of the ideal caste order (a) in the profession of Hindus themselves, probably in the detailed practices enjoined in the Dharmashastra law codes, thought to represent the peak of Brahmanical jurisdiction over the social relations of the Hindus, or (b) in the abstracted and composite generalization of caste as held by social analysts of our time. It may be argued that the only valid con-

cept of caste against which to contrast actual Hindu practice is that held by Hindus themselves. Although the sacred regulations must be considered, we shall find our "ideal type" in recent writings of social analysts rather than in the sacred Hindu literature for these reasons:

1. We do not know what the general Hindu ideal was. The ancient law book appears to be the product of the privileged higher castemen, designed to perpetuate and strengthen, through political and ecclesiastical enforcement, the caste hierarchy. While it would be permissible to adopt these Brahmanical regulations as the priests' ideal type of caste, to do so would seem to surrender whatever benefit is claimed from selecting that concept which Hindu society generally accepted and professed. Further, apart from these ancient law books, we have no adequate sources of evidence to tell us what lower castemen did regard as the ideal Hindu social order.

2. The concept of caste held by modern analysts includes the essential principles of the ancient codes but disregards those detailed secondary specifications which would confine the concept to any one society or period.

The literature of sociology and cultural anthropology shows some disagreement on the selection of those aspects of social class which are to be considered as the criteria of caste. We shall not be detained here by that interesting controversy, but shall arrive at an ideal type of social caste by seeking a consensus of representative opinion. One survey<sup>1</sup> of the statements of over thirty representative sociologists and anthropologists who have dealt with the concept of caste shows that in their majority opinion the essentials which distinguish castes from other types of social classes are (1) vertical immobility, both of the individual from one class (caste) to another and of the class group as a whole from one relative rank to another on the prestige scale; (2) class (caste) endogamy; (3) rigid class isolation and insulation.<sup>2</sup> It is with these three requirements in mind that we now

look for the degree of conformity of Hindu practice to the ideal concept of caste. Let us begin with the earliest times for which evidence is available.

The light-complexioned Indo-European (Aryan) language speakers who invaded India from the north in successive waves, usually regarded as having started about, or earlier than, 1500 B. C., did not have a caste system during the period represented by the Vedic literature. There is no evidence of a privileged priesthood, of occupational groups remaining socially separated, of mobility forbidden between groups, or of class endogamy; the evidence is rather to the contrary.<sup>3</sup>

The darker-skinned Dasu, or Dravidians, who occupied the territory before the "Aryans" arrived, enjoyed a well developed urban civilization as attested by the Indus valley excavations, and their culture seems to have included an established class order, a pre-Vedic priestly class, and many of the religious symbols which appear in modern Hinduism.<sup>4</sup> It is difficult on the evidence available, however, to determine the details of their early social attitudes and class practices. We know that, whatever it may be worth, it is in southern India among the descendants of those Dravidians who were pushed southward that caste has been most highly regarded in recent times.<sup>5</sup>

The social order usually associated in our thought with the notion of Hindu caste seems to have developed only after the passing of time and the interplay of local circumstances had resulted in the spread of the Aryan speakers in northern India, their overpowering of some

<sup>3</sup> R. K. Mookerji, *Hindu Civilization*, p. 94; John Wilson, *Indian Caste*, I:115-117; *The Cambridge History of India*, I:126, 234-234. Concerning the Indo-Aryans see also V. A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, pp. 7, 8; *The Cambridge History of India*, I, ch. 3, p. 43; R. E. Dutt, *History of India*, I, chs. 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India*, pp. 130-134. Concerning the Indus valley civilization see Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization* (three volumes); Ernest Mackey, *The Indus Civilization*; Dorothy Mackey, "Mohenjo-Daro and the Ancient Civilization of the Indus Valley," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1932.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, *The Early History of India*, pp. 8, 429; *The Oxford History of India*, p. 11; Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 6; A. Baines, "Ethnography (Castes and Tribes)," *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, Band II, Heft 5, pp. 18, 19.

<sup>1</sup> Edward W. Pohlman, *Hindu Social Class Organization and the Concept of Caste*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1949.

<sup>2</sup> Minority opinions of the analysts consulted favored as caste criteria, besides those mentioned: occupational assignment (42 per cent of the writers); sacred supporting beliefs (21 per cent); acceptance by all classes and desire to perpetuate the system (18 per cent); balanced social integration (15 per cent); a myth of biological superiority-inferiority (12 per cent).



Dravidians (and lesser communities) and their accommodation to those with whom they remained in contact, the usual reciprocal processes of acculturation and the normal increasing specialization of labor tending toward hereditary vocations (including religious officiation).

The increasing authority of the priesthood with its monopoly on ritual permitted the Brahmins gradually to surpass in social rank both the "inspired" *rishi* poets (recruited from all ranks and formerly regarded above the priests) and the warrior rulers (to whom the priests were first but counselors enjoying only secondary authority).<sup>6</sup> It was this steadily enhanced position of priest and ritual that encouraged progressive Brahmanical authority as indicated in the literature: (1) the earliest Samhita, or hymnal, portion of the Vedas (which enjoins no caste-like adherence to the three criteria we are considering); (2) the Brahmana, a later portion of the Vedas, explaining the forms and meanings of ritualistic sacrifices and intended as a manual for officiating priests; (3) the Sutras, collections of condensed aphoristic statements dealing with customs and rituals which represent the "law" of the period (around the fifth century B. C.) as it pertained to duties of priests and of all other classes (with occupational changes and class intermarriage still permitted); and (4) the Dharmashastras, or sacred books of the law, which (as exemplified by that code attributed to Manu) provide instructions on the divine origins of the social class order, the detailed regulations which should govern social intercourse, punishments for disregarding the injunctions, and prescriptions for cleansing after ceremonial pollution. The Dharmashastras, insisting on the deference due those of higher caste by those below, form the "great authorities on the subject of caste."<sup>7</sup>

These law books not only provided regulations apparently designed to keep men of all castes in their respective social statuses, but offered the reinforcing doctrine of the natural inequality of the great social classes due to their descent from differential origins.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 57-59; Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 103; *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> J. N. Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism*, p. 218. See George Buhler, *The Laws of Manu* (Sacred Books of the East, vol. XXV).

<sup>8</sup> The original famous but misunderstood figurative account of the emanation of the four great occupational classes from the dismembered body

It appears, then, that during the centuries of the Aryan invasion, settlement and expansion (the Vedic period) class lines were not clearly drawn, the occupational classes were "open" to permit individual mobility, the occupations themselves changed relative position on the scale of rank and authority, intermarriage was long permitted between the various economic and occupational groups, and there was evidently as much general social intercourse between class levels as is permitted by any society where occupational differentiation is becoming established. But we have also noted the increasing control which the religious specialists came to claim and to exercise over the entire social order, as time elapsed.

We would expect to find more rigid caste observance after Brahmanical authority became established than would obtain in the centuries before caste regulations were developed, and any evidence of departure from the ideal during the period of greatest enforcement would then be all the more significant for our investigation.

Was the caste "ideal" of the Dharmashastras ever actually practiced by the Hindu society generally? There are well grounded doubts. If it is possible (a) to speak of the "old caste system" as experiencing relaxation and change in the early period following Alexander's invasion of India,<sup>9</sup> but also (b) to note that social practice even in the time of the great law books shows "a people divided into general orders representing the military, priestly, and agricultural or mercantile classes, still mingling freely with each other, intermarrying, but with due regard for the respect paid to the higher orders, and utterly devoid of the 'caste' rules later adopted in respect of food and marriage,"<sup>10</sup> we may well ask when practice really did conform to our concept of caste. The fifth century found the practice still behind the priestly rules; by the fourth, the trend was toward greater nonconformity.

parts of Viratpurusha (Rigveda X:90) deals not with castes but with general economic groups, but it appears that Manu, centuries afterward, used the myth to support the notion of natural "caste" differences. See Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-37; Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-2, 117; Monier-Williams, *Hinduism*, pp. 30, 35; *The Cambridge History of India*, I:54; Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 49, 57.

<sup>9</sup> *The Cambridge History of India*, I:480.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 294.

By the time of Buddha the "system appears full-grown," but the "laws were far from being observed in actual life."<sup>11</sup>

We must give brief further attention separately to each of the essential requirements in an ideal caste order.

### 1. IMMOBILITY

This would mean that individuals should not change from one class to another and that classes should not move from their places in the total system.

Actually, it appears that men and families of all classes in India have desired and achieved some improvement in their caste positions by assuming the names and behavior patterns of higher castes.<sup>12</sup> While trickery, corruption, and force have been used to advance the position of castes in a society whose general pattern refused it, economic pressures have also made individuals and groups (including Brahmans) accept occupations of inferior prestige rank.<sup>13</sup> A local ruler is still, in parts of India, recognized as "emphatically the fountain of honor" who can "uplift or degrade a caste or even a family as he pleases"; he may "bestow caste as well as take it away."<sup>14</sup>

It appears that "even now the process of caste formation has not ceased; and the modification of caste rules is still possible in any of the castes."<sup>15</sup>

### 2. CASTE ENDOGAMY

In early Indian history there is little evidence of the general restriction of marriage mates to those of one's own class. So common was marriage between the four great economic groups (varnas) that Manu (ch. X) endorses the earlier theory that the sub-groups or castes originated from the intermatings of the four and their

descendants, "both lawful marriages with the husband being of the higher class, and unlawful mating with the wife's higher."<sup>16</sup> In fact, the sacred law books explicitly permitted a man to take a wife from a class lower than his own.<sup>17</sup> Manu made provision for the offspring of such hypergamous matings to be identified in time with the caste of the father.<sup>18</sup>

Similar practices still obtain in India.<sup>19</sup> It became necessary in 1887 to legalize the actual practice of intercaste marriages by the passage of the Special Marriage Act, and to give legal recognition to non-endogamous marriage again in 1949.<sup>20</sup> The writer holds two typical newspaper clippings of advertisements for marriage companions that might be found almost any day in the Indian press, each of them significantly stating "no caste restrictions."<sup>21</sup>

We consider all such indications of non-endogamous attitudes and practices to be significant for an appraisal of the trends in Hindu social organization; the retention of separate hereditary caste differentiation would require the continuing general practice of endogamy, and the disregarding of endogamy correspondingly indicates a weakening caste system.

### 3. SOCIAL ISOLATION

Indian caste is probably best known to Westerners for its regulations pertaining to such things as food and drink, travel and untouchability. The Dharmashastras, particularly the institutes of Manu, do indeed specify practices with great detail and diversity of context. We are concerned with discovering the extent to which these have been disregarded. Our positive evidence on the past is not extensive, for, as observed earlier, the records left were prepared by the priestly literates and were intended to outline and uphold strict caste observances. We may argue from the punishments prescribed for violations and from the ceremonies author-

<sup>11</sup> Farquhar, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

<sup>12</sup> M. Olcott, "The Caste System in India," *American Sociological Review*, 9 (Dec. 1944); Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>13</sup> E. Senart, *Caste in India* (trans. Sir E. D. Ross), quoted in E. T. Thompson, ed., *Race Relations and the Race Problem*, p. 231; S. S. Nehru, *Caste and Credit in the Rural Area*.

<sup>14</sup> Baines, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-20; Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 44. For specific examples of caste and family mobility see Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 20, 30, 43-44, 57, 81-82, 98-99, 107.

<sup>15</sup> Farquhar, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-163.

<sup>16</sup> Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-71; Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 128-30; Dutt, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-71.

<sup>17</sup> *The Cambridge History of India*, I:126, 160-161; Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>18</sup> *Manu X:64*.

<sup>19</sup> Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 47.

<sup>20</sup> *Government of India Information Services Bulletins* 3877-GA (April 7, 1949) and 3866-GA (Feb. 28, 1949).

<sup>21</sup> *The Madras Mail*, Sept. 8, 1947; *The Hindu*, Sept. 11, 1947.

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ized for the removal of defilement that violations were not uncommon. Specific instances of unlawful association, some of which have grown through repetition into customary non-conformity, are observed.<sup>22</sup>

But if our records provide only meagre evidence of past anti-caste behavior with respect to intercaste association, we have abundant evidence of more recent and current disparity between practice and the ideal. Not only is modern Hindu social intercourse observed to be in widespread violation of the ancient injunctions and prohibitions, but there is open denunciation and legal condemnation of the former laws and practices themselves, and of the philosophy that supported them. The independent Indian government's official decisions of 1948 to make illegal the practice of "untouchability in any form" and caste discrimination in matters of education, public services, and state employment<sup>23</sup> were made by the representatives of both the higher and the underprivileged castes.

That opposition to caste discrimination has long been agitated and practiced by many of India's educated, by city dwellers, by those influenced by industrialization and Westernization has been frequently noted.<sup>24</sup> Mr. Gandhi's teachings and example in disregarding caste discrimination have been very influential. So have social changes in India; "What chance has caste in the steel works of Jamshedpur or on the Stock Exchange of Bombay?"<sup>25</sup>

The writer has resided too long in India to make the mistake of suggesting that social caste has disappeared, or that it never has existed, in Hindu society. We agree with those who observe that we have in Hindu social organization probably our best example of caste. But commentators generally have assumed a conformity, throughout India's history, to either the Brahmanical precepts or to an academic ideal concept of caste, which apparently has not existed in actual practice.

## FACTORS IN THE PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT OF OLD PEOPLE IN PROTESTANT HOMES FOR THE AGED \*

JU-SHU PAN

University of Chicago

This study was designed to measure the influence of institutionalization on personal adjustment in old age. Factors affecting the adjustment of individuals in institutions were compared with factors affecting adjustment of older persons in the general population. The effect of institutionalization upon activities and attitudes of old people was measured by the schedule "Your Activities and Attitudes" designed by E. W. Burgess, R. S. Cavan, and R. J. Havighurst.

The 730 old people comprising the study group were selected from among residents of homes for the aged sponsored by Protestant religious groups in the northern part of the United States.

The findings of the study were compared with the findings of a similar study made by Blanche C. Junkin in Little Rock, Arkansas. Mrs. Junkin's sample was drawn from old age institutions which were not affiliated with religious organizations.

Comparison of the institutional cases (the present sample) with those secured by Mrs. Cavan from a non-institutional population show that the two groups are similar in certain background and social characteristics, e.g., nativity, education, health status, and physical defects. On the other hand, certain differences appear which may be due to bias introduced in sample selection. The subjects of the present sample are older and place more emphasis on religious attachments. More are married or widowed, and a higher proportion are widows of ministers, church workers, or housewives. Members of the Cavan sample do more reading than the institutionalized persons. A higher proportion of the institutionalized old people than of the non-institutionalized still feel useful to the larger society and consider that all periods of their lives have been equally happy.

Other differences between the groups may be due both to selection of the sample and the effect of institutionalization. The subjects of the pres-

<sup>22</sup> Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24, 32; D. G. Mukerji, *Caste and Outcaste*, pp. 92, 113.

<sup>23</sup> *The Government of India Information Service Bulletins* 3841-GA (Dec. 2, 1948) and M-62-GA (Dec. 9, 1948).

<sup>24</sup> Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 164; Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 68; J. Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, pp. 251-54; L. S. S. O'Malley, *Modern India and the West*, p. 366; Farquhar, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

<sup>25</sup> R. Palme Dutt, *India Today*, p. 499.

\* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Denver, September 7-9, 1950.



ent study participated more than the Cavan group in club organizations and religious activities. They thought of themselves as being younger than did the persons in the Cavan group and rated their personal happiness higher.

Differences due to institutionalization were found in the greater number of hobbies, more regular radio listening, more leisure-time activity, fewer neurotic symptoms and less illness, fewer physical defects, and greater feeling of economic security reported by the subjects of the present sample. Institutionalized old people, because of their increased leisure-time, are able to develop hobbies and leisure-time activities. The low rates of illness and neurosis found in this group may be a result of the physical and social care provided by the institution, or may be due to the fact that persons in poor health are removed from the institution. Institutional provision of shelter, food, and medical care for the remainder of the resident's life undoubtedly accounts for the greater feeling of economic security.

With random samples, computations of critical ratios and the statistical significance of observed differences between the present and Cavan samples would have had more generalized meaning than they have in this study. Even assuming that all other factors are controlled, differences found between the two samples may still be due to fluctuations of sampling. In the absence of random sampling, there is no precise and valid technique for determining whether these observed differences are due to the effect of institutionalization or to chance.

The most significant conclusion arising out of the comparison of the personal difficulties of members of the two samples is that a higher proportion of the present sample suffered a sharp decline in economic status. It is probable that decline in economic status acts as an important stimulus in the decision to seek institutional residence during old age. It is interesting, therefore, that more of the institutionalized old persons consider all portions of their life equally happy. Despite the shock of economic deprivation, residents of religious-sponsored homes for the aged do not, on the average, consider their "later maturity" as an exceptionally unhappy period of life.

While more of the institutionalized than of the non-institutionalized have at least one hobby, fewer of them have plans for the future, attend meetings of organizations, or participate in electoral activity. There is only inconclusive evi-

dence of differences between the two groups in degree of companionship and number of present difficulties.

Comparisons of the findings of the present sample with those secured by Mrs. Junkin throw some light on the differences between private and public institutions for the aged. Junkin's personally-interviewed sample of 56 females was drawn from residents of a county hospital and a home for widows of Confederate soldiers. Her cases come from a rural Southern environment. The institutions were public rather than private, and non-denominational rather than religious. Her cases received special hospital care in contrast to the general institutional care provided for those in the present sample. Differences between the two groups may be the result of these selective factors. Since neither sample is a random sample of any defined universe, statistical generalization of the findings must remain tentative.

A smaller proportion of the present sample than of the Junkin sample reported neglect by their families and a higher proportion of the present sample had numerous acquaintances, frequent contact with friends, interest in a greater variety of hobbies, attended and listened to religious services regularly, read the Bible daily, and believed in an after-life, and had a general feeling of economic security. On the other hand, the subjects of the present study reported more serious physical problems than did the Junkin sample, an unexpected result in view of the selection of many of Junkin's cases from among patients in a hospital. Heart trouble and deafness were the difficulties most frequently reported, and were not critical enough to necessitate hospitalization, the nursing care provided by the institution usually being sufficient. Only 14.8 per cent of those in the religious homes received their chief means of support from pensions and relief, while 65.8 per cent received their chief support from the home.

A higher proportion of the Junkin sample than of our sample had living arrangements which were the result of necessity, stated that they were neglected by their families, suffered frequent interference in their own affairs by family members, and had comparatively few close friends.

The Junkin sample read newspapers more frequently than our sample, listened to the radio less, attended church services less, and read the Bible less frequently. They were more uncertain about an after-life. They had frequent illness

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and numerous physical problems, and many had lost their own homes. All of these factors tend to disrupt the emotional and personal morale of the aged individual.

The following seventeen items were found to be associated positively with personal adjustment in the present sample.

Good or excellent health, higher health activities score, absence of neurotic symptoms, less than four physical problems, fifty or more friends, visits to friends once a week or more, absence of health care, activity in one or more organizations ten years before, favorable comparison with siblings, comfortable economic status, no more than one thing given up, higher security score, church attendance once a week or more, greater church attendance than ten years ago, lack of an unhappy period of life, higher leisure-time activities score, economic status better than ten years before.

Six of these factors are confirmed in a study by Shanas.<sup>1</sup> They are:

Friends (more than twenty-five), health score of five or six (high), financial situation (comfortable or enough to get along on), comparison with sibling (favorable), health compared with ten years ago (no marked decline), friends compared with ten years ago (no marked decline), unhappy periods of life (none).

Because of sample selection and bias introduced by non-response in the present study, the findings must remain tentative. The findings do suggest, however, that the aged living in their own homes have a better adjustment than the aged living in Protestant religious homes for the aged.

None of the samples compared in this study were random, and all include a certain amount of

bias of systematic error. Consequently, statistical generalizations of differences in the various universes from which the samples were drawn are tenuous and in need of further validation. Despite this fact, certain trends do appear, especially when levels of significance are set low. Probabilities of .01 and .001 are considered significant. Chi-square relationships significant at the .05 and .01 levels are included. This statistical compromise was made necessary by the limitations of the present study. Random sampling of an elderly population was found extremely difficult for the reasons pointed out in detail in the body of my thesis.

Although the present study has not eliminated bias from the self-selection of institutionalized respondents, there is reason to suppose that further research can be successful in controlling adequately the effect of such selectivity. This might be achieved by interviewing the superintendent to get certain data on non-respondents necessary to determine the characteristics of the sample. Room-mates, intimate friends, or those living in the next room, can similarly be interviewed in case the randomly selected respondent is sick, deaf, or suspicious, and refuses to be interviewed. It is admitted that this technique is less efficient than a persistent effort to interview the randomly-selected respondent.

These remarks indicate that one need in future research in old age adjustment is a methodological one. Specifically, the universe of church homes should be rigidly defined, and homes should be picked in a random manner for intensive study. The most significant study would involve random sampling of the universe of Protestant church homes, and comparing the data of this sample with either the Cavan sample or random samples of Jewish or Catholic homes.

Research is needed on techniques of approach, in an attempt to discover the relative efficiency of conduct by personal interview without schedules, personal interview with schedules, and schedules distributed through officials of the homes as in the present study.

<sup>1</sup> Ethel Shanas in her study of 388 Old Age Assistance recipients found 31 factors associated with good adjustment. See Ethel Shanas, "The Personal Adjustment of Recipients of Old Age Assistance, with Special Consideration of the Methodology of Questionnaire Studies of Old People" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Sociology, University of Chicago), pp. 95-96.

## COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINION



### REPLY TO BIERSTEDT'S REVIEW OF *HOLLYWOOD, THE DREAM FACTORY*

To the Editor:

Mr. Bierstedt's rather violent review of my *Hollywood, The Dream Factory* in the February 1951 *American Sociological Review* (pp. 124-125) is a phenomenon which evokes certain questions. Is it not rather unusual for a sociological reviewer to take both his cue and his general and specific points of view, even to quoting a headline and first paragraph, from a trade paper devoted to the interests of the industry which has been studied? The book is a critical analysis of the social system of Hollywood and certainly no one would expect an editor of *Variety* or any other entertainment trade paper to have either knowledge of, or interest in, the concept of social system as used by anthropologists and sociologists. Nor would one expect any trade paper to be particularly objective about a book which analyzed the power structure of its industry.

Why was Mr. Bierstedt unable to understand—or perhaps the question should be rephrased, why did he not mention in his review—the major premise of the book, namely, that the social system of Hollywood influences the nature of the movies it produces and the many implications developed from this premise? The premise is clearly stated in the first paragraph of the Introduction and the implications discussed in every chapter. It would be possible to differ from the premise and its implications, or to think that the author had not given conclusive data on them. It seems to me that no serious sociological reviewer should have completely ignored both premise and implications. They were sufficiently clear to a large number of newspaper reviewers (outside of the trade papers) for their comment.

Mr. Bierstedt likewise followed the contention of the *Variety* review that the author regards the power structure as unique to Hollywood and he says this "shows an unusual innocence of the facts of life." Mr. Bierstedt shows an unusual innocence of the facts in the book

which he reviews. The Hollywood power structure is concerned primarily with the conflict between business and art, and in the first chapter is the following paragraph:

The conflict between business and art in Hollywood is a reflection of the conflict within our culture, but is more sharply focused there than elsewhere. It is not inherent or necessary in the production of movies, but rather a point of view culturally determined and exaggerated there. (p. 29)

In Chapter IV, "Front Office," the point is made:

Among the crucial problems of modern democracy are those which center around power, as it functions in both economic and political areas of living. (p. 82)

Comparisons are made with the power structure in other industries, in colleges, in the pre-Civil War South, as well as among the Australian aborigines. The last chapter, "Hollywood and the U.S.A." (pp. 307-332), is mainly devoted to showing that Hollywood and its power structure are not unique and an attempt was made to relate them to certain general trends in modern culture, one of which is the totalitarian view of man. Mr. Bierstedt says this requires an explanation. It certainly does, and can be found in considerable detail in the last chapter and running through the book. It is, however, not to be found in the *Variety* review. The reviewer again missed the point, which is made over and over again throughout the book, that the Hollywood power structure affects the content and quality of movies, while the power structure of the steel industry does not in the same way affect the quality of steel.

Furthermore, Mr. Bierstedt writes, "Most of her information comes from the pages of *Variety* and the *New York Times*. These are her principal, and almost exclusive, sources." This is likewise the contention of the *Variety* review with which Mr. Bierstedt is in such complete agreement. Now, it would, indeed, be remiss for any student of Hollywood and its product to ignore trade and any other papers which gave data concerning it, and it would



be easy for either the *Variety* reviewer or Mr. Bierstedt to catch these references since they are all documented in footnotes. But, one would expect a sociological reviewer to also recognize the results of 900 interviews and other sources such as the files of the Motion Picture Production Association on the implementation of the Code of Production. (Chapter III, "Taboos," is based mainly on these files.) All these sources are described in a section on Method in the Introduction, including the types of Informants, how they were secured, and methods in interviewing. Does the reviewer not know that the anthropologist generalizes from the accumulated results of many interviews and then selects the most typical data as examples? Actually, a serious reviewer with a knowledge of sociological and anthropological field work methods might have made some interesting comments on differences in interview methods and interpretation of data.

The rest of the review is mostly concerned with Mr. Bierstedt's objections to nine items, consisting of analogies with primitive peoples, taken from different parts of the book. It is likely that a reviewer could find, in almost any book, nine sentences or items to which he objects. It is Mr. Bierstedt's privilege not to like the particular sentences he quotes, and not to like anthropology in general. However, as a reviewer, it should have been his responsibility to have mentioned and discussed the major thesis of the book. This Mr. Bierstedt never does and none of the nine items has any connection with it.

In view of all the above, it might be relevant to inquire whether it is not an effrontery for Mr. Bierstedt to talk so glibly in the name of "American social science"?

HORTENSE POWDERMAKER

Queens College

#### COMMENT ON FEDERIGHI'S "THE USE OF CHI-SQUARE IN SMALL SAMPLES"

To the Editor:

In the December 1950 issue of the *American Sociological Review* appeared an article by Enrico Federighi on "The Use of Chi-Square in Small Samples." The author has no doubt put considerable time and effort into the construction of tables for testing independence in  $2 \times 2$  tables with small frequencies, and such tables could be highly useful for statisticians. It is commendable that the *Review*, realizing

the interest of its readers in research, should undertake to publish such a table, but not in its present form.

The table which was published is but an excerpt, and therefore incomplete in many respects. This makes its use somewhat impractical. The table does not include any E values greater than 6, though obviously with an N of 40 or less, E could go as high as 20. Even for the E values up to 6 all of the G and A values which give significance for N up to 40 are not included. For instance, I have calculated the below maximum values of N for several values of E, G, and A values not tabled:

E	G	A	.05
4	6	0	13
4	7	0	14
4	8	0	16
4	9	0	18
4	10	0	20
4	11	0	22
4	12	0	24
4	13	0	26
4	14	0	28
4	15	0	30

Yet our author gives the impression that these values of E, G, and A would be independent for all N up to 40 by his statement on page 778, "Reference to the table shows no entry for this combination of E, G, and A, indicating the hypothesis of independence is tenable for all N's up to 40" (and, presumably for larger N). Perhaps the author had reference to a larger table from which he made the excerpt for the *Review*, but it seems to me that the reader could be misled into thinking it applied to the table in the *Review*.

ROBERT E. CLARK

Pennsylvania State College

#### A REPLY

To the Editor:

This is in reply to Robert E. Clark's comment on my article "The Use of Chi-Square in Small Samples" which appeared in the December 1950 issue of the *American Sociological Review*.

On page 777 I state that in my calculations I sum up all probabilities which are *as likely* or less likely than the one in question. Mr. Clark apparently failed to realize the full significance of the words *as likely*.

For example we have for  $E=4$ ,  $G=6$  and  $N=12$  the following table:

E	G	A	Probability
4	6	0	.0303
4	6	1	.2424
4	6	2	.4546
4	6	3	.2424
4	6	4	.0303

Since 460 and 464 have equal probabilities and their tables are identical in appearance, I grouped the two together giving a probability of .0606 and hence no entry for 460 appears in the table.

I think this will answer Mr. Clark's comment.

ENRICO T. FEDERIGHI

Johns Hopkins University

#### COMMENT ON "LEARNING THEORY AND SOCIALIZATION" BY DORRIAN APPLE

To the Editor:

Without embarking on a lengthy discussion, I should like to indicate certain errors of fact which appear—inadvertently, I am sure—in an article by Dorrian Apple, entitled "Learning Theory and Socialization," published in the *American Sociological Review*, 16 (February 1951), 23–27.

In discussing a paper of mine, the title of which she cites inaccurately,<sup>1</sup> Miss Apple makes several misstatements which should perhaps be corrected for the record. (1) She says that Gillin "offers four postulates, or 'transformation equations,' to be used in explaining cultural change." The fact is that the four statements to which Miss Apple refers are explicitly described as *theorems*, not postulates. My article did not pretend to offer a complete logico-deductive system, but there is a difference between a postulate and a theorem. (2) Continuing her remarks on the same paper, she writes that "satisfaction is not defined. . . ." On the contrary, satisfaction is explicitly

defined as lowering of drive in a sentence breaking between pages 8 and 9 of the original publication. (3) Miss Apple writes of my four theorems that "boiled down, they state that an old custom will be retained as long as it is satisfying, and that a new custom will be adopted if it is more satisfying than former customs or if former customs lose some of their satisfactoriness." Things are not quite as simple as this, even in my article. Miss Apple tries to "boil down" only the second and fourth theorems and ignores the first, which refers to stimulus value, and the third, which treats the development of new acquired drives in a situation of cultural change.

JOHN GILLIN

University of North Carolina

#### REJOINDER

I appreciate being corrected on my use of "village" for "community" and "postulate" for "theorem." I disagree with Mr. Gillin's other two objections.

Describing satisfaction as lowering of drive is exactly the kind of circular statement which my article criticized as not defining anything. The context in my article of the four words quoted makes the criticism clear.

Whether or not my summary of the theorems omits any of their meaning can be decided by comparing it with Gillin's own summary on page 9 of the original publication, which states, "In other words, a group will not discard an old custom so long as it is satisfying to the wants and desires under which the group is operating. Likewise, a group will not learn and perform a new custom unless it is adequately presented, or unless it is more satisfying to existing wants and desires than previously practiced customs, or unless the conditions of customary activity in the group are changed." Adequate presentation of a new custom means that it evokes a response (page 9); presumably this means that a new custom, to be adopted, must be noticed.

DORRIAN APPLE

Tulane University

#### ON RESOLUTIONS BY THE SOCIETY

To the Editor:

May I be permitted a word of praise for Jessie Bernard's letter in the February *Review* "On Resolutions," which provides a nice and

<sup>1</sup> "Parallel Cultures and the Inhibitions to Acculturation in a Guatemalan Community," *Social Forces*, 24 (October 1945), 1–14; reprinted in Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, *Sociological Analysis*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1949, pp. 95–110. Apple makes the title read "Parallel Cultures and the Inhibitions to Acculturation in a Guatemalan Village [sic]."

suitable capstone to this little controversy. The implication is that because members of the Society eat together at the annual banquet, the Society may appropriately pass resolutions condemning Hormel's ham and endorsing Phillips Milk of Magnesia. Likewise for all things the members may do or be interested in.

This is a forthright and illuminating prin-

ciple of the type that disposes of troublesome individual cases such as, for example, A. M. Lee's reluctance to have the Society throw its weight on the right side of whatever war is current. I say liquidate him and all other *halfhearted* believers in resolutions.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

*University of Washington*



# OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS



## CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

### ARTICLE I. NAME

Section 1. The Society shall be known as the American Sociological Society.

### ARTICLE II. OBJECTS

Section 1. The objects of the Society shall be to stimulate and improve research, instruction and discussion, and to encourage cooperative relations among persons engaged in the scientific study of society.

### ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Any person interested in the objects of this Society shall be eligible to membership. The forms of membership and the privileges and dues of members are set forth in By-Laws, Art. I.

### ARTICLE IV. OFFICERS

Section 1. The officers of the Society shall be a President, a President-Elect, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Secretary, an Editor of the *American Sociological Review*, and an Executive Officer. The President-Elect, First Vice-President and Second Vice-President shall be elected by the membership. The term of the Vice-Presidents shall be one year. The President-Elect shall serve for one year, and shall then automatically become President for a one-year term. The Secretary, the Editor and the Executive Officer shall be elected by the Council for terms to be fixed by the Council. (See By-Laws, Art. III.)

Section 2. The President of the Society shall preside at all business meetings of the Society. He shall be Chairman of the Council and of the Executive Committee. He shall perform all duties assigned him by the Society and the Council. In the event of his death, resignation, or absence, except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, his duties shall devolve successively upon the First Vice-President, the Second Vice-President, and the President-Elect.

### ARTICLE V. OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Section 1. The Society shall maintain a journal entitled, the *American Sociological Review*. (See By-Laws, Art. IV.)

Section 2. The Society shall issue such other regular or occasional publications as it deems necessary in the promotion of its objectives.

### ARTICLE VI. COMMITTEES AND BOARDS

Section 1. The Society shall constitute a Council from among its members who are eligible to vote. The Council shall be the permanent governing body of the Society, except insofar as the Society delegates governmental functions to officers or to other committees independent of or in cooperation with the Council.

Section 2. The Council shall consist of the President, the President-Elect, the two Vice-Presidents, the Secretary, the Editor of the *American Sociological Review*, past presidents for the first three consecutive years after completion of their respective terms as President, representatives of regional or affiliated groups, a minimum of twelve elected members, and such other members of the Society as may be prescribed in the By-Laws. With the exception of *ex officio* members of the Council the term of membership shall be three years, and approximately one-third of the members are to be elected each year.

Section 3. The Council shall be responsible for the formulation of policy and the general direction of the affairs of the Society, and shall call regular and special meetings of the Society. It shall have the power to fill vacancies in its elective membership occasioned by death, resignation, or failure to elect, such appointees to hold office until the next annual meeting. Vacancies among the representatives of affiliated societies shall be filled by the societies affected.

Section 4. One-third of the total membership of the Council shall constitute a quorum at meetings, and a majority vote of those members in attendance shall control its decisions. When the Council is not in session, questions may be submitted by mail to its members for vote; a simple majority of those responding shall con-

trol decisions on such questions. However, no vote of the Council shall be binding unless the majority vote includes at least one-third of the total membership of the Council.

Section 5. The Council shall constitute from among its members an Executive Committee which shall have continuing responsibility for the implementation of the policies and programs established by the Society or the Council. The Executive Committee shall have all the powers of the Council when the Council is not in session subject to such general directions and instructions as the Council may give, and the Executive Committee shall make regular reports of its activities to the Council.

Section 6. The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, President-Elect, the retired president for the first year after his term of office, the Secretary, the Editor of the *American Sociological Review* and four members to be elected from the Council by the Council, two of whom are to be elected each year for a two-year term.

Section 7. The Society and the Council may establish such committees as may be necessary for the conduct of the Society's affairs.

#### ARTICLE VII. MEETINGS

Section 1. The Society shall hold at least one meeting each year, at a time and place to be determined by the Council. At each annual meeting there shall be at least one general meeting of the membership at which the Officers and the Council shall report to the Society and any business of the Society may be transacted.

#### ARTICLE VIII. SPECIAL FUNDS AND ENDOWMENTS

Section 1. The Society may solicit and receive special funds and endowments. Expenditure of such funds shall be authorized only by the Council.

#### ARTICLE IX. AMENDMENTS

Section 1. The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds affirmative vote of those voting in a referendum submitted by mail to the voting members of the Society.

Section 2. Amendments may be proposed by the Council, or by petition of at least 50 voting members of the Society, or by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting at a business meeting of the Society.

Section 3. All proposed amendments to the

Constitution shall be communicated to the voting membership at least fifty days prior to the vote on the amendment.

### BY-LAWS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

#### ARTICLE I. MEMBERSHIP AND DUES

Section 1. The membership of the Society shall consist of the following classes: Active, Associate, Joint, Student, Life, Honorary, and Emeritus. Except as hereinafter specified the dues for membership in the Society shall be eight dollars per annum, payable in advance, without initiation fee. Each member shall be entitled to one subscription to the *Review*. Active, Life, and Emeritus members shall be eligible to vote and to hold office.

Section 2. To be eligible for Active membership an applicant must have:

- a Ph.D. or equivalent professional training in Sociology, or
- substantial professional achievement in Sociology, or
- a Ph.D. or its equivalent, or substantial professional achievement in a closely related field, provided that the applicant's interest and activities have sociological emphasis or implication, or
- been classified as an Active member on January 1, 1951.

Section 3. Registered undergraduate and graduate students in residence at educational institutions who have not completed all requirements for the Ph.D. degree and who are sponsored by a member of the Society may be admitted to Student membership in the Society for a period not to exceed five years. The dues shall be four dollars per annum, payable in advance. This membership shall include one subscription to the Society's publication(s) and the right to attend all meetings of the Society, but not the right to vote or hold office.

Section 4. Any Active or Associate member of the Society may become a Donor by the payment of dues of ten dollars or more per annum.

Section 5. Any Active member of the Society may become a Life member by the single payment of two hundred dollars. Joint Life members shall pay \$230. Life members shall have the rights and privileges of Active membership.

Section 6. Any Active member of the Society when retired by his institution, provided that he has paid dues to the Society continuously for at least twenty years, may become an Emeritus

member of the Society. Emeritus members pay no dues but shall have all the rights and privileges of Active membership.

Section 7. Honorary membership in the Society may be conferred upon any person by election by the Council. Honorary members are not entitled to vote or to hold office in the Society, but shall otherwise enjoy all the rights and privileges of membership.

Section 8. Any person interested in study, teaching, research or practice in Sociology, or in closely related fields of scientific interest, may be admitted to Associate membership in the Society upon the payment in advance of eight dollars per annum. An Associate member shall be entitled to one subscription to the Society's publication(s) and to attend all meetings of the Society, but shall not vote or hold office.

Section 9. Joint membership in the categories for which they are eligible may be taken out by a husband and wife upon payment in advance of nine dollars per annum, both of whom shall have all the rights and privileges of membership in the Society, provided that they shall together be entitled to one subscription to the Society's publication(s).

Section 10. Decisions concerning eligibility for membership in any class and recommendations for election of honorary members shall be made by the Classification Committee.

Section 11. Upon the failure to pay annual dues, the privileges of membership in the Society, including subscriptions to the Society's publication(s) and the right to vote, shall be suspended on June 1, and membership shall be terminated on December 31 of the year following the last full-year payment of dues.

Section 12. An application for membership received prior to October 1 in any year shall be dated back to January 1 of that year, and publications of the Society for the current year shall be sent to the member. An application for membership received on or after October 1 shall be dated forward to January 1 of the next year and all subsequent issues of the *Review* for the current year shall be sent to the member gratis. Student memberships, however, may, in the discretion of the Secretary, be for a 12-month period beginning with the start of the academic year.

## ARTICLE II. ELECTIONS AND VOTING

Section 1. All officers of the Society and members of the Council or Committees who are elected by the membership at large shall be elected by a mail ballot of the members qualified

to vote. The term of office shall begin at the close of the annual meeting of the Society in the year during which they are elected. (See Article V, Sec. 1j of the By-Laws.)

Section 2a. The Committee on Nominations and Elections shall select two names each for the offices of President-Elect, First Vice-President, and Second Vice-President, and for the one annual vacancy in the Committee on Publications. These names shall be placed on a ballot with one blank space for direct nominations from the membership for each position to be filled.

b. For the Council, the Committee on Nominations and Elections shall select twice as many names as there are annual vacancies to be filled, and shall place these on the ballot with the addition of as many blank spaces for direct membership nomination as there are vacancies to be filled.

c. These ballots shall be sent to the members eligible to vote by first class mail not later than May 15 of each year. To be valid as votes they must be returned to the Chairman of the Committee on Nominations and Elections by the date specified on the ballot, which shall be not less than 30 days from the date of mailing. Each member voting shall be required to place his signature upon the envelope in which the ballot is returned, but the election procedures shall preserve the anonymity of each ballot.

Section 3. Any person whose name is written in for a particular office by at least one-tenth of those returning ballots, and in no case by less than twenty-five persons, shall be considered as nominated for that office, if such nominations are made on the first ballot. The Committee on Nominations and Elections shall then prepare a second ballot containing the names of the candidates for each of these offices, indicating which persons were nominated by the committee and which were nominated by the membership. This ballot shall be sent to the membership within thirty days after the close of receipt of the original ballots and shall be returnable to the Chairman of the Committee within thirty days of the date it was mailed.

Section 4. In case no names are written in for any office, or in the event that any name written in is found on less than one-tenth of the ballots returned, the results of the first ballot shall determine the election for that office.

Section 5. The candidate (or candidates when two or more vacancies are to be filled) receiving the largest number of votes shall be declared elected. In case of a tie vote the Chair-



man of the Committee shall decide by lot in the presence of the tellers between the tied candidates. In case of the death, resignation, or inability to serve of any person elected prior to the next annual meeting, the candidate who had received the next highest number of votes shall be declared elected.

Section 6. The Chairman of the Committee shall appoint tellers to assist in the tabulation of the ballots.

Section 7. The Chairman of the Committee shall report the results of the ballot to the Secretary, and shall deposit in the Executive Office all ballots cast together with all pertinent data and records of the Committee. The Executive Office shall hold the ballots and other materials submitted by the Committee in safe custody for a period of at least eighteen months.

Section 8. The report of the Committee shall be published and distributed to the membership before the annual meeting.

Section 9. By direction of the Council or the Executive Committee, mail ballots, other than elections, may be conducted by the Executive Office in a manner to be specified by the Council or the Executive Committee.

Section 10. The Secretary shall record the results of all voting by the Society.

### ARTICLE III. OFFICERS

Section 1. The Secretary shall record the transactions of the Society, the Council, and the Executive Committee, shall work closely with various committees as herein specified, and shall perform such other duties as the Council may assign to him.

Section 2. The Editor of the *American Sociological Review* shall perform those duties as specified under Article IV of these By-Laws and shall undertake such other functions as may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 3. The Executive Officer shall be responsible for the management of the Society's central office; shall receive, have custody of, and disburse the funds of the Society, subject to the By-Laws and the rules and orders of the Council; shall have jurisdiction over and attend to the business details of the Society's publications within the budget authorized; and shall function to facilitate the general work of the Society and its committees. He shall be responsible, through the President, to the Council. He shall be a non-voting member of the Executive Committee and the Council, with responsibility

under the President for the preparation of agenda for the meetings.

### ARTICLE IV. PUBLICATIONS

Section 1. All the publications of the Society shall be under the general direction of the Publications Committee, subject to the approval of the Council.

Section 2. The Board of Editors of the *American Sociological Review* shall be composed of an Editor, the Executive Officer, and six Assistant Editors, to be elected by the Council for three-year terms, two of which shall expire each year. The Editor and Assistant Editors, who are subject to re-election if the Council desires, shall be selected with a view to technical competence, and, with respect to the Assistant Editors, an adequate distribution of specific fields of competence. The Editor shall be chairman of the Board.

Section 3. The composition and methods of selecting the Board(s) of Editors for any additional publication(s) shall be determined by the Council, provided that the Secretary and Executive Officer shall be members of the Board for whatever publication is to carry the reports of the Society's official business.

Section 4. The Editor of each of the official publications of the Society shall be responsible for the editorial management of the publication. He shall have the authority to appoint such associate, contributing, book review or special-issue editors as he may deem necessary. He must work within the policies established by the Committee on Publications, and within the budget as approved by the Council.

Section 5. In the event that the Society issues any publication in addition to the *Review*, the Council shall determine, on the recommendation of the Committee on Publications, the most appropriate means of publication of official news and notes, and matters pertaining to the business affairs of the Society.

Section 6. The acceptance of a place on the program of an annual meeting of the Society shall confer first publication rights on the Society for the paper, and it obligates the author to prepare the paper in form suitable for publication. This publication right may be waived by the Editor upon request of the author. The Editor is not obligated to publish such a paper as presented.

Section 7. The Editor shall have the right to reject for publication any paper or other communication submitted to him.

## ARTICLE V. COMMITTEES

## Section 1. The Council.

a. The Council may create such temporary committees of its own or of the Society, not provided in the Constitution, as may seem useful for promoting the work of the Society.

b. All motions presented at business meetings for the creation of new committees affecting the policy of the Society shall be referred to the Council for its recommendation. The Council shall report its recommendation concerning such motions at the next business meeting of the Society.

c. The Council shall hold at least one meeting in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Society.

d. The Council shall elect the Secretary, the Editor of the *American Sociological Review*, the Editor(s) of any other publication(s) which the Society may establish, and the Executive Officer.

e. The Council may make decisions to cooperate with other societies and associations, and shall elect representatives from this Society to such other societies or associations.

f. All action of the Executive Committee and the Council of continuing significance must be reported to the Society.

g. Actions taken by the membership present and voting at an annual business meeting shall be binding upon the Council, provided that the Council may, within four months of such a meeting, submit to mail referendum of the members of the Society any action taken at an annual meeting. The results of such a referendum shall supersede the action taken at the annual meeting.

h. In time of war or other national emergency the Council may suspend the holding of annual meetings or other regular activities of the Society when such action is deemed to be in accord with the national interest.

i. In the event of the suspension of the annual meeting, all actions of the Council or its Executive Committee which would normally be reported to the Society for its approval shall be communicated to the members in an official publication of the Society, and shall form a part of the Official Proceedings of the Society unless and until revised by action of the Society.

j. In the event of the suspension of the annual meeting, newly elected officers, members of the Council and others elected by the Society or the Council shall take office at the time determined by the Council and, in any event, not later than January 1 following the election.

## Section 2.

a. The Executive Committee shall meet on the call of the President or on the written request of three of its members.

b. Five members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum at meetings, and a majority vote of the members in attendance shall control its decisions.

c. When the Committee is not in session questions may be submitted to the members for vote; a simple majority of those responding shall control decisions on such questions.

## Section 3.

a. There shall be a Committee on Publications, consisting of the President, the Secretary, the Editor of the *Review*, the editor(s) of other publication(s), the Executive Officer and a minimum of three other members elected by the membership of the Society for three year terms, provided that during the first year one shall be elected for a one year term, one for a two year term, and the other for a three year term.

b. The Publications Committee shall be responsible for policy on all publications of the Society. All proposals for the establishment of a new publication or for major modifications in an existing publication of the Society shall be subject to the approval of the Council.

Section 4. The President of the Society shall annually appoint a Committee on Nominations and Elections consisting of fifteen members. The Committee shall be broadly representative of the membership of the Society, taking into account the fields of specialization and the geographical distribution of the members. Not less than four nor more than five of the members shall be continued from the committee of the previous year.

Section 5. Each year the Council shall select the Program Committee for the annual meeting to be held two years later. The Committee shall consist of the incoming President-Elect, the Secretary, and three members of the Society elected by the Council for two year terms.

Section 6. The Council shall elect from among the voting members of the Society a Classification Committee of three members for three year terms, one member to be elected each year. The Committee shall recommend to the Executive Committee criteria for the classification of memberships in accordance with the standards set out in Article I of these By-Laws; in consultation with the Secretary devise

procedures for passing upon future applications for membership; review the criteria in use from time to time with a view to recommending to the Council the application of higher standards as the standards of sociological training improve and the number of well trained sociologists increases, and exercise the powers specified in Article I, Section 10 of these By-Laws.

Section 7. The Council shall annually appoint a Committee on Training and Professional Standards. This Committee shall retain under constant review the standards for the profession as a whole. The Committee shall study current standards for professional training and research and from time to time submit its findings to the Council with recommendations.

Section 8. The Council shall annually appoint a Committee on Budget and Investment. The Chairman of the Committee shall be a member of the Executive Committee, provided that the President, the Editor of the *Review* and the Executive Officer shall not be appointed as Chairman of this Committee. The Committee in co-operation with the President, the Executive Officer, and the Editor of the *Review*, shall annually propose to the Council a budget for the ensuing year. At the end of the first half of each fiscal year it shall review the receipts and expenditures to date and if necessary make recommendations for adjustments in the budget, and it shall supervise the investment and banking activities of the Society. (See Article VI of these By-Laws.)

Section 9. The Council shall annually appoint a Resolutions Committee. All resolutions shall be referred to this Committee before submission to the vote of the Society. This Committee reports to the Council.

Section 10. A Committee on Research shall be appointed annually by the President. This Committee shall have specific responsibility for the planning and promotion of the research activities of the Society.

Section 11. The President shall annually appoint a Membership Committee, whose members shall be selected from the various geographic areas of the country. The function of this Committee is the solicitation of membership in the Society.

Section 12. The President shall annually appoint a Committee on Public Relations which shall work with the Secretary and the Executive Officer in publicizing the activities of the Society and in conducting relations with the Press.

Section 13. Each committee must work within the budget as approved by the Council.

#### ARTICLE VI. BUDGET AND FINANCE

Section 1. A budget for the ensuing fiscal year covering all expenditures of the Society, including the cost of publications, shall be submitted by the Committee on Budget and Investment to the Council for approval. Proposals for changes in the budget shall likewise be submitted to the Council by the Committee, except that small interim changes (not to exceed \$100 in any budget category) may be authorized by the Executive Committee on the recommendation of the Budget Committee.

Section 2. This budget shall be binding upon the Executive Officer.

Section 3. A bond in the amount of ten thousand dollars, the cost of which is borne by the Society, shall be required of the Executive Officer or other officer or appointee handling the funds of the Society.

Section 4. The accounts of the Society shall be audited at the conclusion of each fiscal year by a certified public accountant approved by the Council. The report of this audit shall be published to the members of the Society.

#### ARTICLE VII. RELATION TO REGIONAL AND OTHER AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Section 1. Regional sociological societies whose membership is recruited from two or more states, and other national societies concerned with specialized phases or applications of sociology, may affiliate with the American Sociological Society upon approval by a majority of the members of the American Sociological Society voting. Each affiliated society shall be entitled to one representative on the Council of the Society.

Section 2. Each affiliated society is free to designate its representative to the Council in its own manner provided that the representative shall be an Active member of the American Sociological Society.

Section 3. In the event that an affiliated organization meets at the same time and place as the American Sociological Society, the program of the affiliated organization shall be coordinated with that of the Society insofar as is possible.

Section 4. In the event that the Council finds that the conditions of affiliation are not being fulfilled by any affiliated organization, or that such affiliation is no longer to the best interests of the American Sociological Society, the Council may recommend to the Society a termination of the affiliation. Such termination shall require



approval by a majority of the members of the American Sociological Society voting.

Section 5. Affiliated organizations shall be entitled to the opportunity to publish notices of their activities in the publications of the Society, and to such services by the Executive Office of the Society as the Council may determine.

Section 6. Affiliated societies, which were accepted as such prior to January 1, 1951, shall be eligible to continue as such, subject to the provisions of Section 4 of this Article.

#### ARTICLE VIII. AMENDMENTS

Section 1. Amendments to these By-Laws may be proposed by any member of the Society, and adoption shall require a majority vote of the members present and voting at any annual meeting of the Society, provided that no action shall be taken until the amendment has been read and has lain on the table until a subsequent business meeting.

Section 2. The Council may, upon two-thirds vote of its members, submit amendments to the By-Laws to the members of the Society by mail ballot, provided that such amendments have been communicated to the membership at least thirty days prior to the vote on the amendment. Such amendments shall be adopted upon a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting.

#### JOINT SESSION WITH THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

The Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society has voted to sponsor two joint sessions with the National Council for

the Social Studies at the annual meeting of the latter organization to be held in Detroit immediately following Thanksgiving, 1951. Because of the increasing importance of sociology at the secondary school level, it is planned to have a session on the general problem of keeping secondary school teachers informed of developments in the field of sociology and a session on two or three recent sociological studies of major importance.

The National Committee for the Social Studies is a Department of the National Education Association, with some 5,000 members ranging from elementary school to college teachers. It collaborates with the American Historical Association in publishing its periodical, *Social Education*, and regularly holds joint sessions at its annual meetings with the AHA, the Mississippi Valley Historical Society, and the American Political Science Association.

The Executive Committee also appointed an *ad hoc* committee to make recommendations regarding the Society's relationship to the National Council for the Social Studies in particular and to those concerned with sociology at the teachers college and secondary school level in general, in respect to such matters as advising on curriculum, possible sessions or joint sessions at the Society's annual meetings, etc. The committee consists of Gordon Blackwell of the University of North Carolina, Chairman; Harrington C. Brearley of George Peabody College for Teachers; Joseph B. Gittler of Iowa State College; Leo Haak of Michigan State College; Frederick Thrasher of New York University; John Useem of Michigan State College; and Leslie Zeleny of the State College of Education, Greeley, Colorado.

#### PRELIMINARY PROGRAM—1951 ANNUAL MEETING

##### Sections and Chairmen

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| 9:00-10:00  | Registration  |
| 10:00-12:00 | Contributed Papers  |
|             | Robert Winch, Northwestern University   |
|             | Application of Mathematical Thinking to Sociology   |
|             | Frederick Stephan, Princeton University   |
|             | Communication, Public Opinion and International Relations (joint with the American Psychological Society) |
|             | Bernard Berelson, University of Chicago   |
| 1:30- 3:30  | The Family  |
|             | Reuben Hill, University of North Carolina   |
|             | Racial and Cultural Relations   |
|             | Robin Williams, Cornell University  |
|             | Rural Sociology (joint with the Rural Sociological Society)   |
|             | Neal Gross, University of Minnesota   |

- 3:30- 5:30 Demography and Human Ecology  
 Walter Firey, University of Texas  
 Problems of the Individual Researcher  
 Alfred M. Lee, Brooklyn College  
 Cooperative Research Programs Involving Sociologists and Psychologists  
 (joint with the American Psychological Society)  
 Samuel Stouffer, Harvard University
- 8:00 Social Research and the Problem of World Order  
 Robert C. Angell, University of Michigan  
 Participants will be:  
 W. F. Cottrell, Miami University  
 Gardner Murphy, City College of New York  
 John Useem, Michigan State College

## THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6

- 9:00-11:00 Contributed Papers  
 Robert Winch, Northwestern University  
 Industrial Sociology  
 John Ellsworth, Yale University  
 Rural Sociology (joint with the Rural Sociological Society)  
 Neal Gross, University of Minnesota
- 11:00 Business Meeting
- 1:30- 3:30 Sociology of Religion  
 William Goode, Columbia University  
 Sampling and Social Structure  
 Harold Guetzkow, Carnegie Institute of Technology  
 Demography and Human Ecology  
 Walter Firey, University of Texas
- 3:30- 5:30 Sociological Methods  
 William Sewell, University of Wisconsin  
 Sociology and General Education  
 Leo Haak, Michigan State College
- 7:00 Banquet and Presidential Addresses by  
 Robert Polson of the Rural Sociological Society, and  
 Robert C. Angell of the American Sociological Society

## FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7

- 9:00-11:00 Contributed Papers  
 Robert Winch, Northwestern University  
 The Family  
 Reuben Hill, University of North Carolina  
 Racial and Cultural Relations  
 Robin Williams, Cornell University
- 11:00 Business Meeting
- 1:30- 3:30 Criminology  
 Joseph Lohman, University of Chicago  
 Urban Sociology  
 Noel Gist, University of Missouri  
 Industrial Sociology  
 John Ellsworth, Yale University
- 3:30- 5:30 Sociological Theory  
 Robert Bierstedt, University of Illinois  
 World Area Programs  
 Kingsley Davis, Columbia University

## NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



**The Annual Conference of the World Association for Public Opinion Research** will meet in London from September 10 through 14, 1951. The conference is being held jointly with that of the European Society for Opinion and Market Research. It is urgent that those planning to attend notify the Convention Committee as soon as possible so that proper accommodations may be arranged. The Conference Committee is still welcoming suggestions for papers to be presented at these meetings. Communications should be addressed to Mark Abrams, Conference Chairman, at Research Services, Ltd., 110 St. Martin's Lane, London, W. C. 2, England.

**Oslo Institute for Social Research Prize Contest for the best paper on "The Relevance of Research to the Problems of Peace."** Since the end of the second World War many efforts have been made to direct scientific resources toward research in areas considered to be of importance to the task of creating the conditions for an enduring peace between nations. Efforts in this direction have been greatly obstructed by the absence of a general agreement on the question of the relation of research to the promotion of peace. Not the least result of this has been that investments in research of possible significance to the problems of peace have been kept at a lamentably low level. There appears to be a definite need for thoroughgoing investigations of the interrelation of the sciences and the research approaches that have been brought to bear on the problems of war and peace.

The *Institute for Social Research* in Oslo has offered a Prize of 10,000 Norwegian Kroner for the best paper on this problem of the relevance of research to the problems of peace: *To what extent is it possible to establish criteria for the delimitation of research of direct relevance to the problems of peaceful adjustment in international relations?*

The papers to be submitted will be expected to include attempts at a theoretical as well as a functional clarification of problems such as: In what sense and under what conditions would it be possible to speak of a science of peaceful adjustment? How could such a science be integrated? To what extent would existing science fit into such an integration? How could such a science over time hope to influence actions and contribute toward changing international relations?

If several areas of research were found to be generally recognized as highly relevant to the problems

of peace, would there still be any possibility of establishing criteria for the construction of priority lists for the guidance of institutions and foundations dedicated to the promotion of peace? Could e.g. the degree of susceptibility to control and manipulation afford a criterion by which to give priority to investigations on one set of causal factors over another?

The papers to be submitted will not only be expected to present theoretical and functional discussions of relevant criteria of this kind but also to give concrete examples of possible application of such criteria to problems and theories in various fields of the sciences. To take cruder instances only: How can it be established whether psychological studies of aggression are more relevant to the promotion of peace than research in international law? How can it be determined whether it is easier to change conflict-promoting factors in individual attitudes or in political systems? How can it be decided whether inquiries into social stratification are more important than studies in philosophies and practices of child-rearing and education?

The *Institute* has appointed a Jury consisting of Mrs. *Alva Myrdal*, Director of the Social Science Department of Unesco, Professors *Daniel Katz*, University of Michigan and *Arne Næss*, University of Oslo, to judge the papers submitted in this Prize Contest. The Jury will be free to withhold the Prize if it should happen that none of the papers are found to qualify. The Institute reserves copyright and will arrange for the publication of all the papers which the Jury finds valuable enough to merit it.

Papers should be submitted in English or French to the *Institute for Social Research*, Kronprinsensgt. 5, Oslo, Norway, before April 1, 1952. They may be prepared by individuals or groups. Length is quite optional, but 70—150 doublespaced pages has been tentatively indicated as the most suitable length. To ensure anonymity of author(s) during evaluation of papers by the jury, the manuscript and a statement of authorship must be enclosed in separate envelopes and both marked with a motto chosen for the paper.

**American Education Abroad, Inc.**, an organization of a group of professors and teachers, is arranging several study tours to Europe this summer. For details and special folders on individual tours write to American Education Abroad, Inc., 270 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.



**American Ethnological Society.** The 1951 annual Spring meeting of the Society was held on April 13 and 14 at the Washington Square Campus of New York University. The first day, with morning and afternoon sessions, was devoted to a symposium on "Anthropology and the Study of Complex Civilization." The session the following day was given to papers by students of metropolitan colleges and universities.

**The CARE-UNESCO Book Fund** requests contributions in any amount for its program which supplies important new books to universities, libraries, and medical and scientific centers overseas. Its primary purpose is to bring as many professional people as possible up-to-date on current developments in their fields. The Fund's bibliography is based on the priority requests of professional people overseas; included in its 130 categories are Sociology, Psychology, and Statistics. Individuals and organizations giving \$10 or more may request books for a specific institution or indicate their choice of country, type of institution, and category of books. Further information may be secured by writing to the CARE-UNESCO Book Fund, 20 Broad Street, New York 5, N. Y. or your local CARE Office.

**The Ford Motor Company** has announced the appointment of Henry E. Edmunds of Wray, Colorado, as archivist of the newly established Ford Motor Company Archives. He will direct a staff of trained archivists in collecting, arranging, and cataloguing the historical materials of the company and its founder.

**Group Farming Research Institute.** The Institute is planning a field study of the French and West European Communities of Work. Scheduled for spring and early summer of this year, the study, under the direction of Henrik F. Infield, will concern itself mainly with the question of techniques of social evaluation as discussed in the Winter 1950-51 issue of the Institute's Bulletin *Cooperative Living*, in the essay "The Urban Cooperative Community." The investigation will make use of a set of research devices developed by the Institute in former studies.

Dr. Infield will be assisted by Mrs. Claire Huchet Bishop, author of "All Things Common" (Harpers, 1950), a book based on Mrs. Bishop's last year's visit to some thirty of the communities. Mrs. Bishop is the recipient of the Institute's grant-in-aid for 1951, totalling \$1,000.

**Institut National d'Études Démographiques** celebrated the fifth anniversary of its founding with a reception, held at its quarters in Paris on February 7th, 1951. This institute is a research agency under the financial sponsorship of the Ministère de la Santé publique et de la Population, but whose policy is established by an autonomous board of

directors (Comité technique). It groups together about fifteen research scholars, whose various fields of competence include history, geography, economics, jurisprudence, sociology, social psychology, medicine, and genetics, as well as demography.

Research findings of the Institut are published in the quarterly journal, *Population*, now in its sixth year, and in a series of monographs, or Cahiers, of which fourteen have so far appeared. Of special interest to sociologists will be the recent study on the intelligence levels of one hundred thousand French school children, a series of articles presenting measures of social mobility in France and in Italy, and the regular public opinion studies on such topics as housing, alcoholism, immigration, and other problems related to demography.

Information concerning purchases or subscriptions to these publications can be obtained from Mr. Gregory Lounz, 11 East 45th Street, New York, N. Y.

**International Conference of Social Work.** Americans and Canadians who are interested in a social welfare study tour in Europe next summer are invited to write to the U. S. Committee of the International Conference of Social Work, 22 West Gay Street, Columbus, Ohio, and secure details about the trip being planned. Present plans call for a four-week tour, July 8-August 4, under the leadership of Joe R. Hoffer, Secretary-General of the ICSW. Trans-Atlantic crossings will be made by air. The time in Europe will be divided between England, France, and Italy. The all-inclusive fee, except for free time, will be in the neighborhood of \$950.

**The Moreno Institute** (formerly, Sociometric Institute) of New York City and Beacon, New York, has received a provisional charter from the Board of Regents, New York State. It specializes in the training of group psychotherapists, psychodramatists and sociometrists. For further information write to The Moreno Institute, P. O. Box 311, Beacon, New York.

In cooperation with the Psychodramatic Institute it will conduct conferences on "Training in Human Relationships" during June 30-July 4 and September 1-3, 1951 at Beacon, New York.

**Pi Lambda Theta**, National Association for Women in Education, announces two awards of \$400 each, for research on Professional Problems of Women. An unpublished study may be submitted on any aspect of the professional problems and contributions of women, either in education or in some other field. Three copies of the final report of the completed research study shall be submitted to the Committee on Studies and Awards by June 1, 1951. Information concerning the awards and the form in which the final report shall be prepared will be furnished upon request. All inquiries should be

addressed to the chairman of the Committee on Studies and Awards, Alice H. Hayden, University of Washington, Seattle 5, Washington.

**The Social Science Research Council** recently received a grant of \$130,000 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York for continued support of the Council's program of area training fellowships and travel grants. The grants are designed to provide a period of field study for highly qualified specialists on foreign areas.

**Sociometry**, Journal of Inter-personal Relations, published by Beacon House, Inc., Beacon, New York, announces a new editorial board as follows:

Editor in Chief—Frederic M. Thrasher.

Associate Editors—Leona Kerstetter and Edgar Borgatta.

Managing Editor—Joan Criswell.

**Eastern Sociological Society.** The 21st annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society was held at Yale University on March 31st and April 1st. The meetings were attended by 268 persons from 62 colleges and universities.

Two sessions chaired by Harold Hoffsommer, University of Maryland, and Vincent H. Whitney, Brown University, were devoted to 12 reports on current research.

In the session on *Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences* chaired by Mirra Komarovsky, Barnard College, the paper of Sigmund Neumann, Wesleyan University, "A Sociologist Looks at 'Southern Politics'" was discussed by V. O. Key, Jr., Yale University. The address by Saul K. Padover, New School for Social Research, "The American Soldier" and the Historian" was discussed by Samuel Stouffer, Harvard University. The discussant of the paper by Alice Kitt, Cornell University on "The Application of Social Research to History" was Bert J. Loewenberg, Sarah Lawrence College.

*Interrelations of Sociology and Medicine* was the topic of a session chaired by Bernhard J. Stern, Columbia University. The papers were by Oswald Hall, McGill University, "Sociological Research in Medical Practice: Progress and Prospects"; Martin Cherkasky, M.D., Montefiore Hospital, "Social Factors in Disease"; Esther L. Brown, Russell Sage Foundation, "Studies in Interpersonal Relationships in a Therapeutic Setting"; Stewart Wolf, M.D., New York Hospital, "The Physician-Patient Relationship" and Bernhard J. Stern, "Toward a Sociology of Medicine." These papers were discussed by Milton Roemer, M.D., Yale University and William J. Goode, Columbia University.

The session on *Experimental Sociology* was chaired by Samuel Stouffer, Harvard University. J. L. Moreno, Sociometric Institute and Edgar F. Borgatta, New York University, presented a demonstration panel, "Experiments with Socio-Drama

and Sociometry in the Community." R. F. Bales spoke on the "Effect of the Size of Problem Solving Groups on the System of Interaction."

In the session on *Comparative Social Institutions* chaired by Kingsley Davis, Columbia University, Daniel Thorner, University of Pennsylvania, spoke on "Agrarian Structures and Economic Development"; Wilbert E. Moore, Princeton University, on "Labor Mobility in the Industrialization Process" and Hilda Hertz, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, on "Comparative Analysis of World Urbanization." The discussants were Kurt B. Mayer, Brown University, and Arnold Green, Pennsylvania State College.

Leonard W. Doob, Yale University, chaired a symposium in a joint session with the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues on *Personality and Prejudice*, participated in by Goodwin Watson, Teachers College, Columbia University; Samuel J. Flowerman, American Jewish Committee; Robin M. Williams, Jr., Cornell University; and Ira de A. Reid, Haverford College.

The presidential address given at the annual dinner meeting by Nathan L. Whetten, University of Connecticut, was on "Suburbanization as a Field for Sociological Research." The guest speaker was Nathaniel Peffer, Professor of International Relations, Columbia University, who discussed "The United States and the Far East."

At the annual business meeting presided over by the outgoing president, Nathan L. Whetten, the members passed the following resolution relating to Academic Freedom:

"Whereas, there is an increasing tendency illustrated by the recent action of the Board of Regents of the University of California, to impose oaths or contractual clauses on faculty members in public educational institutions; and

"Whereas, such requirements tend to drive out faculty members of proven scholarships and integrity whose personal convictions about civic rights or academic freedom do not permit them to sign; and

"Whereas, such action tends to create and spread hysteria; and

"Whereas, such action may encourage unprincipled pressure groups to use such oaths or contractual clauses to intimidate any educators whose teachings are thought to be contrary to the special interests of the pressure groups; and

"Whereas, there is a special interest on the part of social scientists in the right of free inquiry in the field of controversial social, economic, and political issues; therefore

"Be It Resolved, that the Eastern Sociological Society go on record as deploring such discriminatory requirements and urge its members to take a steadfast stand against such discriminatory action by educational and public authorities."

The officers of the Society for 1951-2 elected at the meeting and carried over from previous elections are: Jessie Bernard, Pennsylvania State Col-

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lege, President; Theodore Abel, Columbia University, Vice-President; Bernhard J. Stern, Columbia University, Secretary-Treasurer; Members of the Executive Committee: Wilbert Moore, Princeton University; Mirra Komarovsky, Barnard College; Wellman J. Warner, New York University; W. Rex Crawford, University of Pennsylvania; N. L. Whetten, University of Connecticut. N. L. Whetten is the representative to the American Sociological Society.

**The Southwestern Sociological Society** elected the following officials at its meeting in Austin, Texas, March 24, 1951:

President—A. Stephen Stephan, University of Arkansas.

Vice-President—Marion Smith, Louisiana State University.

Secretary—Sandor B. Kovacs, University of Tulsa.

Member of executive committee—Sigurd Johansen, New Mexico A. & M. College.

Editor of the Southwestern Social Science Quarterly—Walter T. Watson, Southern Methodist University.

Representative for the executive committee of the American Sociological Society—Harry E. Moore, Texas University.

**Adelphi College.** Ann Petluck, assistant executive director of the United Service for New Americans and legal representatives of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Services, has been appointed lecturer in law for the School of Social Work at Adelphi College, Garden City, N. Y.

**Boston University.** A combined Ph.D. program of specialization in Social Psychology and Personality is being offered at Boston University's Department of Psychology, along with other programs such as Theoretical-experimental and Clinical Psychology. The staff of the program is Robert Chin, Coordinator, Wayland F. Baughan, John W. Thibaut, Henry Weinberg, Arthur J. Brodbeck, Nathan Maccoby, and Philip Noguee. Graduate courses in Social Psychology, Personality, Group Dynamics, experimental Child Psychology, Intergroup Relations, and Research Methods are supplemented by several topical seminars each year. The program is an integral part of the department and its courses.

**Brooklyn College of the City of New York.** Dr. Joseph J. Jablow, Instructor, has taken a leave of absence from March 9, 1951 until January 31, 1952 to serve as Director, UNESCO Technical Assistance Mission to the Government of Liberia. Mrs. Alta Gusar Jablow has also withdrawn from the departmental faculty in order to accompany her husband and to serve as a professor in the College of Liberia.

Sidney Herbert Aronson, formerly of Harvard University, has joined the staff to offer courses in general sociology and minority groups. Mr. Aronson was formerly Director of Research for the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League.

Gerald Mitchell Henderson of the University of Pennsylvania has joined the staff to offer courses in general anthropology and the North American Indian.

Professor Alfred McClung Lee is offering a seminar in "Social and Personal Disorganization" in the New York University Graduate School of Arts and Science during the 1951 spring semester. He has just been elected a board member of the Public Affairs Committee, publishers of Public Affairs Pamphlets.

**Catholic University of America.** Five workshops for intensive study in education, family life, nursing service and social work will be conducted in June and July at the Catholic University of America. Four of the workshops will be in session from June 12 through June 22, and the fifth from July 2nd through August 11, when the regular Summer Session of the institution will also be in progress.

Dr. Roy J. Deferrari will direct a workshop on the curriculum of the Catholic College; and Sister Mary Janet Miller, S.C., one on the Christian foundation program in the Catholic secondary school. The workshop on marriage and counseling will be directed by Dr. Alphonse H. Clemens, and that on organization of hospital nursing services by Assistant Professor Charlotte F. Seyffer.

A six-weeks' workshop, opening on June 2nd, will deal with intergroup education, and be directed by Rev. Dr. Paul Hanley Furfey, head of the Department of Sociology of Catholic University. Designed for those in the fields of sociology, social work, psychology and related teaching, the workshop will have morning and afternoon sessions, including lectures, demonstrations, discussion periods and visits to local intergroup work agencies.

Additional information will be supplied to all interested persons by applying to Director of University Workshops, Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.

**Cornell University** has received a grant of \$130,000 from the Lilly Endowment, Inc., to do a seven-year study of the impact of occupational retirement in the United States on physical and mental morbidity and mortality. The study is directed by Professor Milton L. Barron; associates are Professors Edward Suchman and Gordon Streib. The Rockefeller Foundation has granted Cornell \$15,000 for a community pilot study of old age and Dr. John Dean is conducting the field work.

**Florida State University.** J. J. O'Connell, M.D., Diplomate American Board of Psychiatry



and Neurology, has been appointed to the staff of the School of Social Welfare, The Florida State University, as Professor of Psychiatry and psychiatrist at the Human Relations Institute. Dr. O'Connell has had clinical, hospital and teaching experience in Canada, where he was psychiatric consultant to the RCAF during World War II.

**Hartford Seminary Foundation.** Mrs. Alfred McClung Lee has been appointed lecturer in the department of Sociology to teach a seminar in Social Action. Mrs. Lee took her Ph.D. in sociology at Yale and is a co-author of *Social Problems in America*.

**Harvard University.** During 1950 and 1951, the following British revised editions of Sorokin's works were published: *Russia and the United States* by the London Institute of World Affairs and Stevens and Sons, Ltd., *Reconstruction of Humanity* by Ridgeway Lloyd of London, and *Social Philosophies of an Age of Crisis* by Black Lloyd of London.

The Spanish edition of the *Crisis of Our Age* was published by Espasa-Calpe of Buenos Aires; the German edition of it and of the *Reconstruction of Humanity* were published by Joachim Henrich-Verlag; the Dutch edition of *Crisis of Our Age* by N. Kluwer; and the Japanese edition of both books by Bungei Shumushat.

The Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism, directed by P. A. Sorokin, concentrates its research at the present and in the near future, on detailed and experimental study of the techniques of efficient altruization of human conduct and stimulation of creativity, beginning with an experimental study of the techniques of Yoga and Zen-Buddhism, passing through the techniques of St. Basil, St. Theodore the Studite, Pachomius the Great, St. Benedict, St. Bernard and the Cistercians, St. John Climacus, John Cassian, St. Isaac the Syrian, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Francois de Sales, and others, and ending with the techniques of contemporary psychology, psychiatry, education, and so on. A number of eminent scientists and scholars are cooperating in these studies of the Center.

In 1950, P. A. Sorokin, delivered the Cole lectures at Vanderbilt University at its 75th Anniversary and the Wimmer Annual Lecture at St. Vincent Archabbey.

**Michigan State College.** The Department of Sociology and Anthropology through the Michigan State College Social Research Service has received a grant of \$15,000 from the National Mental Health Institute, U. S. Public Health Service for a pilot study on mental health. The project is designed to explore the patternings of role-playing in positions marked by stress and the means employed by social actors to meet social and cultural conflicts. The "normal" range of responses of those who have "successfully" fulfilled the demands of their posi-

tions will be studied directly rather than imputing them from the study of the abnormal. The committee undertaking this study consists of Duane L. Gibson, Raymond Scheele, Henry Smith (Department of Psychology), Gregory Stone, and John Useem, chairman.

Arrangements have also been completed for a grant to the Social Research Service of \$28,060 from the Health Information Foundation. This Foundation, located in New York City, is established to discover and disseminate factual information in the field of health. The sum is made available by the Foundation to help finance an intensive analysis of the social processes involved when a community makes a self-study of its health needs and programs. The project will be carried on in a mid-west city of 10 to 20 thousand in population and its surrounding trade areas. The Social Research Service committee responsible for the study consists of the following: J. Allan Beegle, Wilbur Brookover, Duane L. Gibson, Charles R. Hoffer, John B. Holland, Paul A. Miller, Orden Smucker, David G. Steinicke, John F. Thaden, and Christopher Sower, Chairman.

Mrs. Betsy Pryor Castleberry, M.A., a graduate assistant since 1947, died on February 28, 1951.

**Northwestern University.** A grant of \$10,000 has been received from the Carnegie Corporation of New York for further development of the new joint introductory course in anthropology, psychology and sociology. The course, which is entitled "An Introduction to the Sciences of Human Behavior," is designed to serve as a broad liberal arts course and at the same time as a prerequisite to advanced courses in any of the three disciplines involved. The course, first given in the academic year 1949-50, is under the joint direction of Kimball Young, Department of Sociology; Robert Seashore, Department of Psychology; and Melville Herskovits, Department of Anthropology.

A conference of specialists in the fields of anthropology, psychology, psychiatry, and sociology was held on the Evanston campus May 17-19. Approximately twenty authorities in the four fields met to compare methods of study and to discuss cooperation in the study of human behavior problems. The conference papers and discussions will be published in book form. The conference was supported through a gift from the Viking Fund of New York.

**Ohio State University.** John F. Cuber was editor of the May 1951 issue of *Marriage & Family Living*, which was devoted largely to papers presented at the annual meeting of the Section on Marriage Counseling, National Conference on Family Relations, of which Dr. Cuber was chairman, 1948-49 and 1949-50.

**Purdue University.** Members of the Sociology staff cooperated with the Indiana Council on Family

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Relations in its annual conference on the Purdue campus, May 18 and 19. The theme was: "Personal and Family Security During World Crisis." Dr. John F. Cuber of Ohio State University was guest lecturer.

Harold T. Christensen is guest professor at the University of Utah during the first summer session. He is teaching courses in population and the family. Following this, he will lecture for one week at Idaho State College and two weeks at Ricks College on marriage and the family.

Robert O. Andrews has received one of two advanced Fellowships in Family Life offered by the Merrill-Palmer School. He will study there during the 1951-52 academic year.

**San Francisco College for Women.** Dr. Allen Spitzer, Associate Professor of Sociology, has been notified by the Rector of the Universidad de Yucatan, that he has been selected as a Research Associate of the University, with its full approval to carry out a field-work program in cultural sociology under its auspices. The planned project calls for an analysis of the ecological structure of the Yucatan Peninsula, with special emphasis on the role of Merida, the capital, in relation to the peninsula, and for the study of changing religious and family structures, including patterns of social and cultural disorganization. The long-range project will involve studies of Mayan village life and of the historical relationships with the ancient cities of the Mayan and Itza people. The work in Merida will begin with the summer session of 1951.

Dr. and Mrs. Spitzer have completed their research on social disorganization among the Black-foot Indians. At present, Dr. Spitzer is preparing research material on the Christian goals of sociology and the role of sociology in a democracy at the request of the Commission on Research, National Council of Churches of Christ.

**Texas A. & M. College System.** Progress report 1323 on "An Experiment in Informal Community Organization," as well as additional information on community surveys and organization, may be obtained from the Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, College Station, Texas.

**University of Bridgeport.** A workshop in intergroup relations will be conducted from July 30 to August 15. The course is designed to help teachers, educational administrators, social workers, and lay readers to develop more effective techniques and to utilize materials in intercultural education and other aspects of intergroup relations. The Bridgeport public schools and the Bureau of Youth Services of the Connecticut Department of Education will cooperate.

Joseph S. Roucek will be visiting professor at the University of British Columbia for the summer session.

**University of California.** Leonard Broom has returned from 8 months in Jamaica and the British West Indies where he studied problems of urbanization and ethnic groups under a Fulbright grant.

A pioneer course on modern Latin American society is being offered by Professor Ralph Beals. Long a student of Mexican ethnography and social anthropology, Professor Beals recently made an extended tour of South America and a study in Ecuador. His course not only develops a new and much needed area of investigation, but also represents a further effort in the integration between anthropology and sociology.

Philip Selznick was awarded the Grant Squires Prize by Columbia University in 1950 for his analysis of the TVA. This award is made quinquennially for an outstanding study in sociology by a Columbia graduate.

**University of Chicago.** Professional persons, 55 to 64 years of age, will be interested in a special program of study to be offered this summer by the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago. This program, Making the Most of Maturity, will consist of individual consultation, discussion and study organized around a series of lectures and films. Topics to be included will be health, nutrition, employment, financial planning, the use of leisure time, participation in social and community life, spiritual life, and a philosophy for the middle and later years. Successful applicants will be given a complete medical examination so that they may better assess their health resources.

The course will be given on a full-time, five day a week basis, July 9 through August 3. The fee will be \$75. Living quarters for out-of-town participants are available at a moderate charge in University residence halls. Interested persons should write to Mrs. Mary Hollis Little, Executive Secretary, Making the Most of Maturity, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

**University of Connecticut.** In the fall of 1950, the following staff members were added to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology: Dr. Donald P. Kent, Assistant Professor of Sociology from Temple University; Dr. Floyd Dotson, Assistant Professor of Sociology from the University of Massachusetts; and Mr. Sidney H. Croog, Instructor in Sociology who was transferred from the University of Connecticut Hartford Branch.

Mr. Charles W. Wisdom, who had spent the previous year on leave of absence studying at the University of Chicago, returned to his duties as Assistant Professor of Anthropology.

Dr. Frances W. Underwood, Instructor in Sociology and Anthropology at the Fort Trumbull Branch, which was closed in the spring of 1950, was transferred to the Hartford Branch, and is in

charge of the course work in sociology and anthropology there.

Mr. Harold C. Yeager, Jr., became full-time Instructor in Sociology and Anthropology at the Waterbury Branch of the University of Connecticut.

Dr. Walter I. Wardwell and Dr. Arthur L. Wood have received a grant from the Survey of the Legal Profession, under the auspices of the American Bar Association, to direct the study of "The Lawyer and the Community." Another grant from the same source has been received by Arthur L. Wood for the study of "Criminal Law and Litigation."

Dr. Donald P. Kent is collaborating with Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas of the University of Pennsylvania on a socio-psychological analysis of personal documents of Americans of Japanese descent.

**University of Florida.** The first Southern Conference on Gerontology devoted to "Problems of America's Aging Population" was held at the University of Florida in Gainesville on March 19 and 20, 1951. In attendance were approximately 100 persons professionally interested in the subject, drawn largely from Florida and the other southern states. The three principal sessions of the conference were devoted to the demographic, biological and psychological, and social and economic aspects of the subject, respectively. Among the major papers presented at the conference were "Trends in Number, Proportion, and Geographic Distribution of the Aged" by Warren S. Thompson of the Scripps Foundation for Population Research; "The Migration of the Aged" by T. Lynn Smith of the University of Florida; and "The Retired Population of a Florida Community" by Irving L. Webber of the Florida State Improvement Commission. Other sociologists on the program were Homer L. Hitt of Louisiana State University who served as chairman of the panel discussion on Demographic Aspects; C. A. McMahan of the University of Georgia and John M. MacLachlan of the University of Florida who were members of the same panel; Clark L. Tibbitts of the Federal Security Agency and W. W. Ehrmann of the University of Florida who took part in the panel discussion of Economic Factors and Sociological Problems. Plans are being made for a second conference on the same subject to be held in Gainesville in the spring of 1952.

**University of Michigan.** Dr. Ronald Freedman has been appointed a research associate of the Survey Research Center on a one-third time basis.

Dr. Monroe Sirken has been appointed assistant professor in the Department of Sociology for the next academic year. Dr. Sirken will be in charge of the quantitative training program of the Department. He will also hold an appointment as research associate of the Survey Research Center.

Dr. Horace Miner has returned to the Department after a year of field work in Africa.

Dr. Ruth Shonle Cavan will visit the Department in the Summer Session of 1951 to offer courses in the Family and Criminology.

**University of Missouri.** An Institute for Research in the Social Sciences has been established for the purpose of encouraging, planning, coordinating, and financing social science research at the University. Professor Charles E. Lively, Chairman of the Department of Rural Sociology, is Director. Sociologists serving on the Board of Governors include Noel P. Gist and Robert L. McNamara.

**University of Pennsylvania.** Dr. Ray H. Abrams and Dr. James H. S. Bossard are acting as consultants for a study of and conference on Psychiatric education of physicians, conducted by the American Psychiatric Association and the Association of American Colleges. Dr. Abrams is temporarily on leave of absence in order to devote full time to the project.

**University of Utah.** Dr. Ellsworth Faris, professor emeritus of Sociology and former Chairman of the Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, conducted courses in Social Psychology at the University of Utah during the spring quarter, 1951.

An Institute on Gerontology, directed by Dr. Robert J. Havighurst, Chairman of the Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago, was held on April 2-6, under the joint auspices of the Department of Sociology and the Graduate School of Social Work. Dr. W. M. McPhee, associate professor of sociology and social work, was Chairman of the Institute.

At the annual meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work held at Toronto, Canada, January 27, the Graduate School of Social Work at the University of Utah was recommended for accreditation as a two-year school of social work, empowered to confer the M.S.W. degree.

Dr. Arthur L. Beeley is the Dean of the School and also Chairman of the Department of Sociology. Professor Beeley has recently been appointed by the Department of State as a member of the Advisory Committee on Emergency Aid to Chinese students.

**University of Western Ontario.** Dr. Odin W. Anderson, Associate Professor in Charge of the Social Aspects of Medicine, Faculty of Medicine, University of Western Ontario, London, Canada, has been awarded a three months' fellowship to Europe by the World Health Organization for the summer of 1951. He will visit medical schools in Great Britain and Scandinavia which have established departments of social medicine and explore source material in the government statistical offices relating to long-term population and vital statistics data.

**University of Wisconsin.** Despite a second semester drop in University enrollment of over



two thousand, enrollment for the department courses increased over four hundred.

Professor George Hill is on leave of absence as consultant to a number of Venezuelan government projects. Samuel Bloom resigned his assistantship to take up his new teaching duties at Bennington College, Vermont.

Visiting for the semester is Dr. Margaret A. Hagood, who is offering research seminars in population.

Dr. Burton R. Fisher, Program Director, Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, has been appointed to a professorship of sociology, beginning with the academic year 1951-52. Although formally a member of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, his responsibilities will be to the Division of Social Studies. He will be in charge of the program of teaching and research in the field of public opinion, and will probably also teach some basic courses in social psychology.

Professor William B. Howells was elected president of the American Anthropological Association, and although on leave next year will continue his research on factor analysis of body features relative to somatotype as well as physical features held in common by brothers.

The Corrections Administration Curriculum under Howard B. Gill in its second year has eighty students. This summer presages more available internships in various institutions than available trainees. Interrelated courses have been set up with the School of Law, Department of Education, and soon to be established will be joint offerings in Psychology and Political Science. The purpose of the program is to provide training for the judiciary bar, psychologists, social workers, and sociologists who may wish to work in the treatment of delinquency

and crime. Mr. Gill and Joseph P. Chiozza are collaborating on an interne program in which selected graduate students will administer during the summer one of the units of the state training school. Mr. Chiozza will also work with the Crime Laboratory in correlating characteristics of voice with the polygraph.

**U. S. Department of State, New York.** Werner J. Cahnman is now serving as social science analyst with the Program Evaluation Branch, International Broadcasting Division, U. S. Department of State, New York.

**Veterans Administration.** Dr. Walter L. Slocum, formerly assistant chief of the research division of the Veterans Administration office of vocational rehabilitation and education, has been appointed chief of the division.

Dr. Slocum came to V-A in May, 1946. Among his various activities, he prepared numerous statistical studies of the GI Bill and Public Law 16 veterans' training programs. Before the war, he had been an associate professor of sociology at South Dakota State College. During and after World War II, he spent 20 months in the Navy as a military government officer in Korea.

**Yale University.** The Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations has honored Professor A. B. Hollingshead by selecting his study, *Elmtown's Youth*, for inclusion in its honorable mention list of research in the field of Student Personnel that appeared between July 1946 and July 1949.

Dr. Hollingshead will be Visiting Professor of Sociology at the University of Southern California during the coming summer session.

## BOOK REVIEWS



*Public Opinion, 1935-1946.* Under the editorial direction of HADLEY CANTRIL; prepared by MILDRED STRUNK. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951. lix, 1191 pp. \$25.00.

The importance of this book depends upon the future uses to which it is put. It is as a contribution to continuity in social research that its value will be finally assessed. The book may turn out to be a mausoleum of memories for pollsters, or it may help to put the study of our own and future history on a surer footing than has been possible for men in the past. Whether it closes an epoch, or opens one, is a question that will be answered by the future activity of social scientists.

Hence, after one has noted that it is the most massive collection of opinion data available for any period of recorded history and has congratulated the compilers for their diligence, no valence is appropriate for most remarks about the book at this time. I shall therefore dispense with the motions of ascribing merits and demerits to successive portions of the book's anatomy, and confine my remarks to the payoff question: How *usable* are the data?

The collection presents polling results obtained by 23 organizations in 16 countries over 12 years of activity (1935-1946). According to Hadley Cantril and Mildred Strunk, the responsible persons, it includes "most questions asked of national cross sections throughout the world." Not every such question is included, nor is material from market research and local polls, but the volume is already barely portable. The mass of questions is classified into the categories standardized as subject-headings by the Library of Congress; each question is classified under the most specific heading available and then cross-referenced to other relevant categories; all questions under each heading are arranged in chronological order. Such a scheme is safe and sound (in the sense that conformity to past commitments of the mind—e.g. on the categories which codify experience—is usually regarded as neutrality, while demands for revising such commitments are controversial).

Thus the tables are heavy-laden with numbers,

and the most voracious appetites are invited to a quantitative feast. The question remains: Which sorts of appetites will be sated? Since this is partly a question of taste, it is open to dispute. Preferences in scientific work, however, are required to meet the test of demonstration and hence disputes ultimately are settled.

Persons who like to study recent *trends* surely will feast most richly at these tables. The period spanned begins in 1935: the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern and the momentous transition of Bolshevism from cosmic revolution to collective security; Hitler's plebiscite in the Saar and restoration of compulsory military service (renouncing Versailles); Franco's army on the move in North Africa; Italy's invasion of Ethiopia; and formation of the *front populaire* government in France. The period ends in 1946, with the transition from World War II to Cold War I. The resonant opinions formed and expressed in the course of these events still reverberate through the corridors of world politics and vibrate in the chambers where current decisions are made.

What, for example, has been the shifting pattern of opinion in the U. S. about the U. S. S. R.? How has this trend in American opinion compared with trends of opinion on this subject in Britain and other countries? The findings reported on pages 763-765 give some answers, and the cross-references on page xlviii supply further relevant data.

In addition to simple trends, assembled for one country or compared among several countries, *covariance* questions may be asked of these data: How have responses in one opinion-dimension varied with responses in a different (or supposedly different) opinion-dimension? How, for example, have opinions about the U. S. S. R. varied with opinions about security, in the U. S. (and/or Britain, and/or France, etc.)? On the question of security, key symbol of the epoch, the book presents voluminous data. (See pages 772-789, xlviii-xlix)

Still a third type of question, concerning the *interaction* of opinions with events, will elicit some answers from these pages: How (for ex-

ample) has recent American opinion about Russia been modified by various important events—e.g. the Stalin-Hitler pact; the Nazi invasion; the Big Three meetings at Casablanca, Teheran, Yalta; the Atom Bomb? The material is rich in possibilities for questions of this type. In September 1945, for instance, the Fortune Poll asked Americans two retrospective questions concerning their pre-war impressions of Russian behavior in European politics. A fairly large number gave "incorrect" answers—whose common tendency is to show that the respondents were "wise to" Russia all the time and that their opinions were little modified by events during the war. (p. 763) However, on the question "Do you think Russia can be trusted to cooperate with us after the war is over?"—repeated over four years by NORC, OPOR, and AIPO—the "yes" answers increase pretty steadily to a peak in February 1945, when over half of all respondents were affirmative, and do not start to decline regularly until October 1945. (pp. 370-371)

This suggests that a good many Americans *did* shift their opinions during the war years, though some may have arrived at roughly the same opinion in 1946 as they held in 1939. It would be difficult to explain these shifts without some such data as are given on the September 1945 Fortune question: "Which things have you liked about Russia, and which haven't you liked so well?" (p. 765) Important clues are contained in the overwhelming approval (66.9 per cent) of "the way she handles her military campaigns" and the strong disapproval (42.6 per cent) of "the way she handles her diplomatic relations with this country." A calendar of important events involving these two types of Russian activity would go far to illuminate the shifts of opinion during 1942-46, and also the apparent stabilization of postwar opinion at approximately the pre-war levels.

Investigators not concerned with an historical perspective, such as is involved in the three types of inquiry illustrated above, will want to ask questions with a more direct *theoretical* intent. The materials are inviting also to persons with such tastes. One may ask, for example: What is the social role of opinion in any or all of the 16 countries represented in this volume? What, to vary the problem, is the social function of "having an opinion" on various matters among people of different statuses? These polling results will not yield full answers to such questions, but they will provide important information not available

elsewhere. Analysis of the "no opinion" data throughout this volume, by frequency of occurrence in the various subject-categories, would give us negative information on the characteristic foci of attention in various countries. This would lead to inferences regarding stratification of attention which could be translated into hypotheses directing future opinion research.

There is capacity in the volume, too, for questions with a *methodological* interest. I indicated earlier that a continuous problem confronting users of these data is whether different questions actually involve—or only seem to involve—different "opinion-dimensions." A number of opportunities are available in these data for trying out recent suggestions in such methods as scale analysis and latent structure analysis. These opportunities will be more useful for suggesting new hypotheses, rather than for testing current hypotheses; but this is also an important contribution to continuity in social research. Such efforts to use these data will do much to improve the next collection (Mrs. Strunk speaks of a continuing series of volumes, published every five years).

Certain persons will neither gain nor contribute, for they will disdain to use such imperfect data. It is safe to predict, for instance, that compulsive addicts of the correlation coefficient will reject these materials as inadequate for "scientific" studies. They will be right. One recalls, however, the threnody of the whole race of grammarians: the people did not speak according to their paradigms. They, too, were right; but the study of language passed over to scholars interested in how people *do* speak, and energetic to develop adequate models to guide observation and analysis. The study of opinion also will pass from those specialized on petulance to those oriented toward effort.

The central issue which this book raises, and which the future activities of social scientists will decide, is how to improve opinion polling so that it yields the data we need. This issue is not even joined by rejecting the only available codifications in one sector of experience because they do not meet all our specifications for perfect data. Asperity regarding the intellectual manners of some scientists obviously casts no doubt on scientific method as a model. Quite the contrary. "Scientific method" is properly invoked not as a loyalty check on pollsters, but as an adaptable tool of inquiry in new fields. What the pollsters need is not our arrogance, but our ideas—if we have any to spare.



One line of attack on the problem is that laid out by Paul F. Lazarsfeld in "The Responsibilities of the 1950 Pollster to the 1984 Historian" (*Public Opinion Quarterly*, Winter, 1950-51). Examination of the volume in hand, and reflection on its challenging inadequacies, suggests the need for a complementary homily, revised annually, on "The Responsibilities of the 1951 Social Scientist to the 1952 Pollster."

DANIEL LERNER

Columbia University

*Field Theory in Social Science: Selected Theoretical Papers.* By KURT LEWIN; edited by DORWIN CARTWRIGHT. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951. xx, 346 pp. \$5.00.

The publication of this group of papers makes available in organized form the basic theoretical points of Lewin's Field Theory. All of the material in this volume has been previously published, but it is a real service to have it brought together here in one well organized book. The previous group of Lewin's selected papers, *Resolving Social Conflicts* (Harpers, 1948), was primarily pointed towards practical problems while the present volume deals with more theoretical issues.

The volume can be thought of in three parts. The first part deals with the basic principles of field theory, the second part relates field theory to research in various areas, and the third part cites findings from Lewin's own research.

The first three chapters deal with the basic philosophy and methodology of field theory and of research in general. It is the reviewer's feeling that the most valuable part of the book lies in these first three chapters dealing with Formalization and Progress in Psychology, Constructs in Field Theory, and Defining the "Field at a Given Time." The author takes several occasions to caution against the formalization and mathematization of theory beyond "the degree that the maturity of the material under investigation permits at a given time." This is a point with which most social scientists would find themselves in agreement, and some critics think it a pitfall into which Lewin himself fell. In Chapter I Lewin defends himself from one aspect of this criticism by tracing the historical development of his work.

Chapter I also includes a section of basic assumptions and derivations which have been put into symbolic terms. The basic difficulty here is in the derivation of the derivations. We give two examples. For (D2) we read "Derivation: Fol-

lows immediately from the right side of the equation (C2) by means of (A1) and (A3a)." The difficulty lies in the fact that the right side of (C2) is "a monotonously increasing function" of time and fluidity while (A1) and (A3a) deal with a different set of variables entirely and there is no stated relationship between the two sets of variables. For the derivation of (D3) we read "It follows immediately from the denominator in (C2) by means of (A1), (A3a), and (A4)." Assumption (A4) introduces a new variable, tiredness, but the major difficulty lies in the fact that (C2) has no denominator (other than unity). In this case the directions for making the derivation are obviously impossible. In spite of some facility with symbols the reviewer found most of the other derivations equally difficult. This difficulty with derivations is doubtless a minor point, but it serves as a stumbling block in the path of those who would understand Lewin's ideas.

The third chapter is largely devoted to a discussion and defense of the "Principle of Contemporaneity." In the author's words, "One of the basic statements of psychological field theory can be formulated as follows: Any behavior or any other change in a psychological field depends only upon the psychological field at that time." (p. 45) This principle has been criticized a great deal and many of the points of criticism are covered in this discussion. Lewin's point of view seems to be covered in the following quotation:

Without altering the principle of contemporaneity as one of the basic propositions of field theory, we have to realize that to determine the psychological direction and velocity of behavior (i.e. what is usually called the meaning of the psychological event), we have to take into account in psychology as in physics a certain time-period. The length of this period depends in psychology upon the scope of the situation. As a rule, the more microscopic the situation is which has to be described the longer is the period which has to be observed to determine the direction and velocity of behavior at a given time. (p. 52)

Following these first three chapters dealing with basic ideas, come six chapters relating these ideas to research in learning, regression and development, social psychology, psychological ecology (study of "what part of the physical or social world will determine during a given period the 'boundary zone' of the life space"), and group dynamics. To those familiar with the work

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of Lewin no comment is needed on the fruitfulness of his methods in many of these fields. However, in spite of the stimulation provided by these chapters, one gets the feeling at times that some situations are being symbolized in an unnecessarily complex manner. For example, the statement that "the variety of behavior increases during childhood with normal development . . . may be expressed by the formula:

$$\text{var} (B^{\text{ch}}) < \text{var} (B^{\text{ad}})$$

where *var* means variety;  $B^{\text{ch}}$  behavior of the child;  $B^{\text{ad}}$  behavior of the adult." (p. 100) Symbolizing of this sort, which occurs at several points, doesn't seem to have any useful function. The discussion of the husband and wife situation seems unnecessarily complex in view of the conclusion reached. "Obviously, husband and wife will soon be in trouble if they do not 'talk things over,' that is, if they do not communicate to each other the structure of their life spaces with the object of equalizing them." (p. 197) One can't help but think that this situation, and perhaps others, might be discussed more fruitfully in terms of W. I. Thomas' concept of "definition of the situation."

The last chapter, Behavior and Development as a Function of the Total Situation, constitutes the third part of the book. It is a very neat summary of much of the research of Lewin and his co-workers and lists 135 references at the conclusion of the chapter.

The 34 page appendix is an Analysis of the Concepts Whole, Differentiation, and Unity in a field theory setting.

The index was found to be incomplete on several points though only a few were checked. For example, the page references under *valence* include neither the four-page section in Chapter X headed *Force and Valence* nor the four-page section of Chapter IV headed *Changes in Valences and Values*.

Taken as a whole this is a very valuable source book on the contributions of a man of distinctive genius in the fields of psychology and social psychology.

DANIEL O. PRICE

University of North Carolina

*Sociologie et Anthropologie*. By MARCEL MAUSS, with an introduction to the work of Marcel Mauss by CL. LEVI-STRAUSS. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950. lii, 389 pp. 800 fr.

Marcel Mauss died in 1950 while this book was in the press. Since the death of Durkheim

he has been the undoubted leader of the French school of sociology and his important writings go back to the early issues of the *Année Sociologique*; the classic *Théorie Générale de la Magie* appearing in that journal as early as 1902-3.

Mauss carried on and extended the Durkheim tradition but his work was far indeed from being merely that of a disciple. In some respects he advanced notably upon the ideas of his great master, or rather he carried the same basic approach into new problems or new aspects of society with a brilliancy and a success that are in themselves striking proofs of the basic soundness and enduring value of the Durkheim method.

Some of his more important articles—notably the *Théorie Générale de la Magie*, the better known *Essai Sur le Don*, and the fascinating essay on *La Notion de Personne, Celle de "Moi"*—are now reprinted in this collection in the *Bibliothèque de Sociologie Contemporaine*, and students who have not access to them in the original journals will be thankful for their new accessibility. One wonders, however, whether the work of Mauss and his French associates can be assimilated into either American anthropology or sociology without severe indigestion or perhaps even the learning of new digestive processes. The French method of handling social phenomena is so different from American methodology that reading Mauss is like entering a different intellectual world. There is practically nothing in common between French sociology and American sociology, partly—but only partly—because the facts that the French use are usually drawn from primitive or non-European societies. Hence French sociology is likely to strike most American sociologists as not being sociology at all "but really anthropology."

There is an additional question whether the Mauss type of material is read by American anthropologists with the care it deserves. If it is, there is no evidence that they benefit by their study of it. Two of the essays in this volume give much more insight, for example, into the relation of personality to culture (that great "new" problem of American anthropologists) than is to be found in all the weighty symposia on that subject that are flooding the textbook markets. As Levi-Strauss unkindly says in his introduction (though he capably puts the words into the mouth of M. Mead), all that the extensive use of Rorschach tests has established are findings that have been known (to Mauss) by

the "normal methods of ethnology" for half a century.

In the far distant future it may gradually dawn upon American anthropologists that the only escape from the impasse of cultural relativity into which Boas led them is by the use of some neo-evolutionary frame of reference in which different social systems are viewed not as discrete entities illustrating "cultural diversity" but as local solutions to the same universal social problems and social needs. And when, as a result of that recognition, anthropologists begin redigesting the material of their discipline they will find that their French colleagues, like Mauss and his associates, are way out ahead of them in the task of building a real social science; mainly for the reason that the French begin with the axiom that human societies are basically pretty similar throughout the world—an axiom that leads to comparison and science, whereas the Americans operate on the contrary axiom: that human cultures are "incredibly varied" which leads to contrast, anecdotage and endless particularism. Any one of the six essays in this volume will readily demonstrate the superiority of the French approach. They are not by any means the whole of Mauss' scholarly work, but even these short essays prove him a worthy successor to Durkheim, and a major contributor to the growth of social science.

C. W. M. HART

*University of Wisconsin*

*Testament For Social Science: An Essay in the Application of Scientific Method to Human Needs.* By BARBARA WOOTTON. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1950. vii, 197 pp. \$3.00.

This is a curious and provocative book. The author is professor of Social Studies at the University of London, governor of the B.B.C., active member of the Labour Party, and author of six books on economics and planning. She knows what she wants to say and how to say it.

The title indicates her thesis: that the social studies should use scientific methods, and that humanity will benefit as the work of the various social disciplines becomes soundly scientific. Whom is she trying to persuade? American social scientists several decades ago fought and won the battle against large generalizations, sentimental reform, and random speculation. Can it be that our British colleagues have still to win it?

In the first half of her book the author is shrewd and stimulating. She makes trenchant criticisms of the biological analogy and of the

transformation of Marx's hypotheses into the system called Marxism. She argues that sociology should not study "society" at all, since society is a fictitious abstraction. Sociology, she says, is a part of the study of human behavior, and should therefore properly rank as a branch of the general science of psychology. Indeed, "psychology is so demonstrably the foundation of the social sciences that it is from many points of view to be regretted that these are not all regarded as branches of it."

The second part of her book is a different matter. Here are chapters on science and metaphysics, morals, and the arts. Miss Wootton is not content to have social scientists go quietly about their business, winning their way by demonstrated results. She wants to drive from the field all philosophers and theologians, to outlaw speculation and "the various superstitions, not excepting Christianity," and thereafter to convince the artist that the scientist is his best friend. Here a battle is transformed into a crusade, and the author's generalship becomes a matter of concern to practising social scientists.

Miss Wootton strikes me as naive and uninformed. She seems to regard philosophers as perversely hostile to science—as men who would be angry if obstinate fact or scientific truth should puncture a pet theory. It never seems to enter her head that much scientific knowledge has grown out of questions raised by philosophers, that the integration of scientific work is often ably performed by philosophers, and that many of our profound natural scientists inevitably proceed to metaphysics. As for her comments on theology, the religious views she attributes to churchmen might be characteristic of certain fundamentalists, but she believes that "religion" is still waging a rear-guard action against science—one which must lead to the sure defeat of religion. (Are we still living in the nineteenth century?)

The author is not only far beyond her depth in all this discussion; she is using poor tactics. It is hard to believe that any practising philosopher or theologian or any "average citizen" will be persuaded by such statements as this: "Metaphysicians must increasingly confine themselves to metaphors, while the Almighty threatens to dissolve into 'undifferentiated ooze'." Or this: "Surrender on specific points leads by an inevitable gradualness to the dissolution of anything that is worth calling a religion at all." She will not even concede that religion might safely withdraw into a "distinctively spiritual



sphere"; science must follow it there and destroy it.

Why fight on this front at all? Natural science has made its ways not by debate but by achievement. Social science will not win adherents by sanguine promises and by debate.

If I were sponsoring a program of research, I should see to it that several outstanding American and British social scientists should undertake a collaboration to produce a history of the course of social science in the two countries during the past century: the points at which paths diverged, the assumptions formerly and presently held, the fads that have flourished and disappeared, the methods of research in use, the status of the subjects in relation to the public and the universities. Americans who read only occasional British monographs, and Britons who read American ones, must often feel baffled. For example, Victor Branford's article on sociology in the 14th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* seems to an American to bear almost no relation to the subject he knows. Yet it was Britons (John Howard, Charles Booth, B. S. Rowntree, for example) who did the pioneering work in scientific social surveys. When and how did Americans get ahead of British sociologists in the use of scientific method? We need to know.

JAMES G. LEYBURN

*Washington and Lee University*

*The Chinese in Southeast Asia.* By VICTOR PURCELL. New York and London: Oxford University Press (Issued under the joint auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Pacific Relations) 1951. x, 801 pp. \$11.50.

In the past when pressure on the land of South China became too great the excess population spilled over into Southeast Asia. This tendency still persists and there is every reason to believe that it will continue to do so for generations to come. This piecemeal and unorganized movement of the Chinese, long recognized but seldom studied, raises many urgent problems of acculturation and adjustment, of apportionment of political power and economic rights. Such problems are of growing importance to Western nations no less than to the indigenous governments of Southeast Asia; for with the resurgence of Chinese communism and nationalism they become portentous to the world at large. For those who would understand the background and present status of this move-

ment, and for all social scientists concerned with the universality of their studies, Purcell's book, the first comprehensive work in any language on Chinese migration and settlement in Southeast Asia, will be an indispensable source.

This volume is a survey of Chinese peoples and institutions in seven Southeast Asian areas: Burma, Siam (Thailand), Indochina, Malaya, British Borneo, Indonesia, and the Philippines. The author, a former colonial administrator and presently Lecturer in Far Eastern History at the University of Cambridge, writes principally of the historico-political aspects of Chinese settlement in each area. Relations between the Chinese communities and the local governments are emphasized. By contrast less is said of the social and cultural life of the Chinese communities themselves. Only for Malaya, where the author could supplement secondary sources with his own first-hand knowledge and observation, are these aspects of Chinese settlement treated in detail.

Purcell's knowledge of the Malayan situation, based on more than 26 years experience in the Malayan Civil Service when he worked closely with Chinese groups, is probably unsurpassed by that of any other European observer, as readers of his recent *The Chinese in Malaya* can testify. Consequently, his coverage of the Malayan Chinese is most complete and up-to-date. Here, after a comprehensive analysis of the present Chinese population in Malaya, Purcell traces the history of Chinese contacts from the 14th Century to the present, giving a particularly detailed account of Chinese activities during the last War and the period of the current "communist terror." Illuminating chapters follow dealing with Chinese economic activities, social life, education, and political societies. A similar historically-oriented outline is followed for all other areas, but for these the coverage is more limited, for the author has had to rely almost entirely on the available writings of Western observers. These sources are of uneven quality or limited in scope, and many are outdated. Although the author shows keen discrimination in evaluating his sources, their limitations preclude a coverage comparable to that of Malaya. The Chinese in Borneo, for instance, about whom little has been written, are only sketched. Burma also is lightly treated. The account of the Chinese in the Philippines is heavily weighted in terms of political events; and for information about the Chinese in Siam, the author has had to rely largely on Landon's

reports dealing with the situation as he knew it in the 1930s.

Despite these inevitable deficiencies, sociologists can find much in this survey which will repay careful reading. The summary chapter on "Some Special Aspects of Chinese Society in Southeast Asia" gives information on the family, marriage, religion, and education of the overseas Chinese. Interspersed throughout the book are discussions of occupations, regional groupings, intermarriage, immigration trends, etc. In addition, there are appendices on Chinese dialects, Chinese junks and squatters, displaced overseas Chinese; and, for comparative purposes, an appendix on Indians in Southeast Asia. While much of this information is not new, and most of it may be known already to specialists in certain areas Purcell has performed a distinct service in bringing together, comparing, and evaluating this diverse and scattered material.

Students of the region will also be grateful for the up-to-date demographic information, which is based partly on recent censuses, partly on enlightened guesses. Purcell estimates the total Chinese population in Southeast Asia to be 8 to 10 million, or about 6 percent of the total population of the region. One cannot but agree with the author's thesis that the importance of the Chinese "economically and politically, is all out of proportion to their numbers and is likely to be increasingly great." (p. 1)

As mentioned above, one major fault of this survey is that although each country is treated separately, the same topics are not uniformly covered in each. This makes it difficult to obtain a consistent comparative view of certain phenomena. Immigration laws, for example, are discussed for Malaya, Siam, and the Philippines, but not for Borneo and only incompletely for Indochina. Likewise, some topics of especial interest in any contemporary social survey—the Chinese press, schools, labor unions, the situation of second-generation Chinese, etc.—are only lightly touched for some areas and ignored completely in others.

Despite his acknowledged debt to many area specialists who were asked to pass on the accuracy of his data, the author has not succeeded in the elimination of various factual errors. He attributes to the 1946 Franco-Chinese Treaty, for example, various provisions regarding the Chinese in Indochina (p. 230) which he later states (footnote, p. 260) arose out of a diplomatic exchange in Paris in 1948; the latter view is the correct one. Again, he declares that Chi-

nese troops invaded Laos in 1945. This is contrary to the facts: Chinese troops entered Laos north of the 16th Parallel under international agreement for the purpose of disarming Japanese troops there. The author's system of writing Vietnamese names is Chinese, not Vietnamese. Social scientists will not agree with Purcell's use of the term "Chinese race" when he obviously refers to Chinese culture or nationality.

These are minor faults, however, when set against the contribution that Purcell has made in preparing the first basic survey of one of the most important migrations in the modern world. The shortcomings and omissions of this present pioneering effort do no more than underline the need for further research in the region, especially in the Chinese communities themselves. It is hoped that this study will focus attention on the cultural and social problems of this hitherto little known region and stimulate interest in further research there.

RICHARD J. COUGHLIN

*New Haven, Connecticut*

*The Family Revolution in Modern China.* By MARION J. LEVY, JR. Cambridge: Harvard University Press (Issued in cooperation with the Institute of Pacific Relations) 1949. xvi, 390 pp. \$6.00.

The publisher's blurbs and Talcott Parsons' "Foreword" raise hopes that at long last we have here a beacon light in meeting the tragic need, and remedying the inexcusable neglect by our educational institutions, of providing authoritative area-functional analyses of foreign cultures, societies, and events. But not for long. The exceedingly questionable implications and pretensions in the first and second paragraphs of the foreword, clearly deflated in the author's franker "Preface," are apt to do both Professor Parsons and Dr. Levy far more harm than good among those who have a general knowledge of what is involved in Far Eastern area competence on the one hand, and other types of social science analysis than the Parsonian "comparative study of institutions" on the other. What the reader can be sure of is that "This study attempts a systematic analysis of the family structure of 'traditional' and 'transitional' China with special reference to the role played by industrialization in the changes which are taking place." (author's preface, p. xi) To examine the extent to which the author succeeds in this attempt would require far more space than is allotted to this review. However, I offer this judgment: if the

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Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies wish to add another invaluable function to their area and language efforts to secure the understanding of other peoples, they might well set up summer institute seminars where area and functional specialists would join to subject such works as this to detailed analysis and evaluation.

In sheer wordage, about forty pages are devoted to the general conceptual scheme avowedly applied to the data—political (power) and economic factors, solidarity, role differentiation, and “integration and expression” (the last constituting a curious mixture)—twenty more pages to concrete distinctions in the Chinese population, over two hundred to a study of the “traditional” Chinese family, and only some ninety to kinship structure of “transitional” China and problems of modernization.

From the viewpoint of area data, Mr. Levy’s professed position is that “the state of our knowledge about contemporary Chinese society and the society itself are in such a state of flux that it is not possible to do a great deal more than present hypotheses about what is taking place.” (That last clause indicates the freedom with which the author hypothesizes from limited data even when there is no adequate clarification of and saturation in the conditioning circumstances!) But, unfortunately, Mr. Levy seems unaware that an analogous flux or at least divergence exists in the state of knowledge about past and ancient Chinese society. Notably his cautions to the reader on the lack of valid statistical data on contemporary China are not paralleled by corresponding care to point out the nature and qualifications of the detailed historical data on which he bases his own conceptualization and hypotheses as to past and ancient China. For that requirement there is no substitute, particularly in a culture where historical, legal, and ceremonial works have so selected and colored events and ideas and where homiletic and utopian classics have for so long passed as records of facts.

From the viewpoint of social science treatment, this estimate is ventured: the author has so elaborately and persistently applied theoretical concepts and hypotheses to facts and alleged facts about the Chinese family system and changes in it (many of the facts in turn having been collected and analyzed by former authors), that bona fide social science students of China who take up the family in the future will feel it necessary to come to terms with his presen-

tation. That much can not be said about any contribution he has made to the analysis of industrialization and modernization in China. The attempt to transfer to China common sense historical observations made about the industrialization and modernization process in the West, and to apply such dichotomies as particularism-vs-universalism (apart from their shortcomings) to the conditions of home-handicraft and machine industry in China, are unsafe without a much more comprehensive analysis of both the broad cultural base and the industrial and modernization process itself. Recent developments in China reinforce this judgment.

MAURICE T. PRICE

*Washington, D. C.*

*New Light on the History of the Taiping Rebellion.* By SSU-YÜ TENG. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950. iii, 132 pp. \$1.75.

The rapid triumph of the present Communist revolution in China, based on an agrarian reform program and a foreign doctrine, has stimulated social scientists in this country to re-examine the Taiping Rebellion of just about a century ago. The appearance of this fine piece of research, no less than the undertaking of other similar projects by individual scholars and research institutes, well illustrates the situation. Dr. Teng, an acknowledged expert on this subject, has made available to Western readers in his erudite work many new findings and views, mostly from Chinese sources, and with great caution has supplied convincing answers to some hitherto puzzling and unsolved problems.

The Taiping Rebellion represented the first round of an ideological duel between what was Chinese and what was imported and Western. It proved in the end that the age-old Confucianism was at that time still a powerful and not easily challenged bulwark of Chinese society. The revolutionary weapon of the Taipings comprised a half-understood Christianity, vague nationalistic ideas, and an ineffective agrarian reform program. Because of these vital deficiencies in a social revolution, it is hardly surprising to find that after the Taiping forces took Nanking as capital and set up the so-called Celestial Kingdom of Great Peace the leaders themselves, lacking any convictions of common good and other revolutionary purposes, fell into the traditional “institutional rut,” so to speak, and competed licentiously for harems of beautiful women and other extravagances conventionally allowed only to an emperor. These were, of



course, the very evils which they had bitterly condemned at the beginning of their rebellion. In pursuit of such goals, the leaders quickly became jealous of one another, and an internal faction soon led the whole revolutionary movement into disintegration and collapse.

This work is, on the whole, a very scholarly and well-documented performance. One minor point, however, the reviewer finds difficult to accept. This is the author's generalization which reads in part: "the writer is inclined to think that all revolutions or civil wars in China have been stirred up primarily by political corruption." (p. 37) It seems that such a remark is somewhat sweeping to say the least, and the very fact implied seems phenomenal rather than causal. It is undeniably true that if a political administration were efficient it would never allow a large segment of its population to remain dissatisfied so long as to become actually rebellious. However, the reader may well pause to ask: What are the factors which cause a ruling regime to become corrupt? Why should each and every ordinary dynasty in Chinese history be virile and efficient at the beginning and then become so rotten and inept that in the end it provokes peasant revolts and civil wars? Needless to say, in Chinese history there were civil wars which had little or nothing to do with political corruption, such as, for instance, the once widespread rebellion of the Three Feudatories in the K'ang Hsi Reign of the early Tsing Dynasty.

SHU-CHING LEE

*Chicago, Illinois*

*The Koreans and Their Culture.* By CORNELIUS OSGOOD. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1951. xvi, 387 pp. \$5.00.

It is as well not to judge the content of Professor Osgood's book by the timeliness of its publication. It is not, of course, hastily manufactured. The heart of it is the report of a village study carried through in the summer of 1947, when Korea seemed, even to most students of the Far East, well on the other side of the tracks. The remainder is the result of book work done over a period of years. That such a study should have been ready at this time is either great luck or the product of a sixth sense.

The book is divided into five sections, dealing in order with a contemporary village near Seoul, the customs of the upper class of the capital around the turn of the century, political history, culture history, and a resume of the fortunes

of modern Korea. A final chapter includes an ethnologist's view of Korea's cultural position in the Far East. A list of the Korean writing, either phonetic or ideographic, for Korean words transliterated in the text, a bibliography of works cited, and an extensive index make the book useful to the scholar. Excellent photographs, good paper, and large type give it considerable appeal.

Professor Osgood's treatment reminds one of the older ethnographic monograph. He covers an extraordinary range of topics, for example, as is suitable in the original or summary presentation of a culture. In this instance, however, the culture is complex and its content immense, while the sources are heterogeneous. The treatment tends therefore to lose the book its unity and at points threatens to turn it into a compendium of available knowledge. Only threatens, though, for the author manages to give it a distinct unity by recurring constantly to basic features of Korean culture and by building an ascending series of generalizations about that culture, from the village to Korea's position in the Far East. Very rewarding too are the author's honest style and his wise and often delightful insights.

The ethnographer and ethnologist, and the man interested in Korea, will gain a great deal from this book. The report on upper-class customs, the culture history, and the resume give information, and especially a summation, that have long been needed in a Western language. Above all, so far as this reviewer knows, the village study is unique in its combination of qualities—the work of a trained ethnographer, reporting on a great variety of aspects of the culture, and done independent of a bureaucracy. The very few other local studies in existence in any language suffer from a lack of one or more of these attributes.

It is ungrateful to say of a book that makes these contributions that it may be of only mixed interest to the social anthropologist. There is a multitude of finely sensitive bits—on Korean personality, for example, and on the common man's experience of conqueror and occupier. Social organization, though, is not covered as extensively or treated as systematically as most social anthropologists, to say nothing of sociologists, are likely to want. Most disappointing to this reviewer, for example, was the failure to treat political organization at the village level at all adequately.

The bibliography includes works in both Western and Oriental languages. It contains only

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items cited in the text and is therefore not intended to be complete; not noted, however, are several of the standard Japanese works on modern Korean religious, family, and village life. It is encouraging to report that within the last year and a half—hence too late to be used in this book—Korean social scientists trained in the West or in Japan have published several responsible works on their own social system.

JOHN C. PELZEL

*Harvard University*

*American Military Government in Korea.* By E. GRANT MEADE. New York: King's Crown Press, 1951. viii, 281 pp. \$3.75.

The title of this book is a little broader than its scope. Its subject matter is limited to the first year of the occupation of Korea, 1945–46, and is chiefly concerned with Cholla Nam Do, a province about the size of Connecticut lying on the southeastern tip of the Peninsula. Military government in this limited area is covered thoroughly and exactly, with much statistical information from sources that might otherwise be lost. Less is said about how policy was determined in far-away Seoul, but the book does contain much background and general information concerning the structure of military government in Korea during this period.

So preoccupied had been planners and administrators with Japan that almost no preparation for Korea was made. Korea was a kind of afterthought. Teams were sent in late, six weeks after the occupation began, and well after trouble had started. They had almost no preparation or available information, hazy directives, and little experience to cope with what they found. The enlisted personnel were so haphazardly selected, the author writes, that fully a third of them proved more of a liability than a help. The performance of a few misfit officers was regrettable.

The Army's tendency to centralize control proved generally unfortunate. Outlying areas were sometimes stripped of competent personnel to swell the large headquarters in Seoul. Understaffed field teams had to enforce Seoul policies which often did not suit local conditions and invent answers to logical objections of the people. Delays, frustrations, and a feeling of impotence were not good for local morale. The author believes that decentralization would have resulted in more realistic training in democracy, for then local areas could have had power to decide local issues.

The basic difficulty appears to be ethnocentric. A too fixed belief in American practices suited to an American setting did not permit the facing of Korean problems with complete objectivity. A premature attempt to establish a free economy resulted in inflation, disorder, and the threat of starvation. The author states that many Americans were too rightist to follow the middle-of-the-road desires of most Koreans and tended to fear that these desires might be radical or communistic when some of them might have been merely logical. Perhaps the difficulty has lain in the failure of our culture to produce realistic training in practical economics and politics. "No political instruction had been received by any of the civil affairs officers, and there were almost none who could draw upon a background of such experience gained through practice." (p. 6)

The American habit of self-criticism must not blind us to our real achievements. We refused to allow occupation personnel to acquire Korean property of economic value. We fed the people from American food stocks. We initiated programs in education, agriculture, forestry, roads and other projects that we Americans understand. We attempted to curb Korean oppression. We attempted to teach democracy. "The general impression . . . was one of sincerity. . . . The Koreans recognized that while their efforts might be misguided, at least the Americans were taking their job seriously." (p. 89)

We need to add to our sincerity the greatest intelligence and finest training we can muster for the political and cultural preparation of our overseas personnel. We must learn from this experience in Korea.

Meade's book is honest and written with courage. Sometimes he may understate the more dramatic; elsewhere he may be bold. He has given us a good document to add to the literature of American postwar foreign policy, and a mine of source information, but one does wish that a reference map of Korea had been included.

THEODORE K. NOSS

*Adelphi College*

*The Pacific Islands.* By DOUGLAS L. OLIVER. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951. xi, 313 pp. \$5.00.

Putting large subjects between small covers is notoriously atypical of American scholarly writing today. Rather are we trained to produce, and uncritically to accept, works whose mean-

ing and importance are felt to be directly proportional to their bulk. It is cause for rejoicing, therefore, when an author of Dr. Oliver's experience and competence takes the added time for study and reflection that is required to write a shorter book; for here he has done much more than simply to lay all his notes end to end. His widely-informed, sensitive, and enlightening *Überblick* of the Pacific world past and present represents a mature distillation of reading and first-hand knowledge. It is to be doubted that trebling the number of details here presented would substantially alter our understanding of Oceania's main lines of development down to 1950.

*The Pacific Islands* is perhaps best described as a cultural history of the earth's largest and youngest area. Although grounded in social anthropology, Dr. Oliver's specialty, all of the social sciences and colonial history have been utilized in this assessment. The inherent human drama of the story is the more clearly revealed for having been pruned of that thick growth of syrupy sentimentality and high-style romance which characterizes so much writing on the South Seas; and, in passing, one should note how neatly the Kon-Tiki theory is cut to size by means of a 7-line footnote. (p. 50) Anyone familiar with even small fragments of this far-flung region can appreciate the problems involved in making valid generalizations about the whole of it. Whatever the subject—geography, native cultures, missions, administrative policies, etc.—it is ever a question of the forest and the trees. To avoid superficiality in the presentation of a balanced view of events and influences shaping the destinies of an unrecorded number of discrete societies on nearly 10,000 islands scattered over thirty million square miles of ocean presents a challenge which few have had the courage to face. Eschewing doctrinaire theories and a formalistic approach, the author organizes his materials by means of the concept of the paramountcy of economic institutions. When these are further treated in their chronological sequences, similarities and differences between places and periods are made clear and meaningful.

Beginning with a review of the dimly known pre- and protohistoric invasions of Oceania by ancestors of the two million "native" inhabitants of Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia, the author summarizes several of the principal types of cultural adaptation which representatives of these stocks worked out in their

several insular environments. This part of the epic, measured in millenia, must remain perforce subordinate to the recorded "four fateful centuries" of European-Asiatic invasion and conquest. He traces the accelerating pace of contact and change as group after group of lighter-skinned "discoverers"—Iberian, northwest European, American, and finally Asiatic to complete an age-old cycle—became ever more deeply and permanently involved in the affairs and destinies of the island peoples. From the casual contacts of early explorers and hell-bent whalers, through missionaries, miners, and planters to modern industrialists and bureaucratic administrators one can watch the mounting dynamism of the alien impact as its agents dug in to stay. The late war, which brought about the greatest of all invasions in force which the area has ever experienced, is seen as the great climacteric to date in Oceania's history. His summary of the war's effects on island societies far and wide, entitled "Cataclysm and Aftermath," is an important and timely contribution to our scant knowledge of recent events and quickening trends. What's past is clearly prologue—but to what? The author strikes a judicious balance sheet of cultural profit and loss up to the war, and sketches clearly the several alternative courses of development among which choices will be made. He disassociates himself from the reactionary sentimentalism of the "ethnic zoo" philosophy; westernization, inevitable in any event as he rightfully believes, ought to be portioned out in homeopathic doses. It is not a dearth of prescriptions but rather the contradictions among them that is the problem. Where resources are sufficient to foot the bill, as in Hawaii, New Caledonia, and perhaps New Guinea, the prospects are fair to excellent; but in many of the lesser islands, as for instance in American Micronesia whose total area is scarcely larger than Rhode Island, the lack of resources and economic opportunities clouds the future.

Comparisons inevitably will be drawn between this book and two of its American forerunners: Keesing's *The South Seas in the Modern World* (1941) and Furnas's *Anatomy of Paradise* (1947). Wider in its regional coverage than Furnas's excellent and colorful work, and more recent by a decade than Keesing's invaluable survey, it supplements both but need not compete with either. In its stated primary purpose—"to provide the nonspecialist American with some background for understanding the historical consequences of westernization and for ex-

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exercising the responsibilities of trusteeship"—it is conspicuously successful. But it should, in fact, appeal to a wider audience than that of American nonspecialists alone. Chauvinism and special pleading are absent from this objective account and other nationals with no less a stake in the Pacific than our own will find it useful. Even specialists themselves may find it a salutary means of coming up for air.

Finally, a word of praise for the work as an excellent example of trade bookmaking. Chapter-head illustrations by Sheila Mitchell Oliver add to its attractiveness, but the maps are more decorative than informative. A classified list of principal sources provides an efficient guide to further reading.

STEPHEN W. REED

*Yale University*

*Childhood and Society.* By ERIK H. ERIKSON.  
New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1950.  
379 pp. \$4.00.

*Childhood and Society* is yet another synthesis of psychoanalysis and cultural anthropology. The author presents his theory of the dynamics of personality development and uses it to diagnose not only individuals in our society, but also the personality structure of the Dakota and Yurok Indians. He also presents an interesting analysis of the personality of Adolph Hitler and of Maxim Gorky. His concluding contribution is an analysis of American modal personality which he calls "the American identity."

Dr. Erikson's theory of infantile sexuality is basically Freudian; however, the manner of presentation and the characterization of the stages in terms of modes and modalities are his contributions. He conceives of the child as progressing through five stages characterized by the dominance of one or a combination of the sensory zones. These stages are the oral incorporative, oral retentive, anal, locomotive-genital and genital. During each stage, according to Dr. Erikson, there are five possible adjustments which the child can make. He describes these modes as incorporative, incorporative-biting, retentive, eliminative, and intrusive. For each stage, Dr. Erikson believes, there is a culturally approved mode, the modality. Thus, for an infant in the first stage of its development, the modality is the oral incorporative mode, "getting", "receiving and accepting what is given." The second modality is the incorporative-biting mode, "taking and holding on to things." During the third stage, two modes, the retentive and the

eliminative, combine to form a modality of "holding on" and "letting go." Stage four in boys is characterized by the intrusive modality. Girls, however, although they have the intrusive modality in some spheres must also have an inceptive and inclusive orientation. Dr. Erikson believes that if the progress from one modality to another is impeded, accelerated, or arrested, the individual will become fixated at one stage or at one mode. This implies that in the arrested case the type of behavioral adjustment characteristic of the mode becomes dominant in all the subsequent stages. Thus Dr. Erikson believes that a child who becomes fixated on the modality of the second oral stage, "taking and holding on," will attempt to meet each new adjustment with this pattern. He describes the progression from stage to stage as difficult even under the most favorable circumstances, and hypothesizes certain primal anxieties and hopes which result from the socialization process. He calls these anxieties and hopes the ego qualities which constitute an individual's identity. Thus the ego quality of trust is established in the first oral stage. The ego's perception of the self as evil develops in the second oral stage. The sense of autonomy and shame and doubt develop in the anal stage. Qualities of initiative and guilt characterize the locomotor-genital stage. Dr. Erikson states further that experiences during latency, adolescence, and adulthood lead to five other stages during which the ego is placed in conflict situations. The characteristics of an individual's identity depend upon his success or failure in the solution of these conflicts.

The diagnostic sections of the book, for example the chapters on the Dakota and Yurok, are based on the assumption that the stages, modes, and ego conflicts described above are characteristic of all men in all societies, but that different childhood experiences will lead to emphasis on one or another modality and to the development of various combinations of ego qualities. These modalities and qualities constitute the identity of a given society, or what other authors have called national character.

Dr. Erikson's intuitive genius, uncommon empathy with children, and artistic skill, make the diagnosis of the cases interesting and suggestive reading. The stripping of irrelevant details might be called oversimplification, but it serves to illustrate his theory graphically.

For those interested in the study of the value systems of cultures, or as Dr. Erikson calls it, the "identity" of societies, the book will provide

many useful insights. It directs attention to certain variables originally suggested by Freud but makes an important contribution in their clarification and amplification.

Dr. Erikson's book, however, suffers from the same failing of most of the studies in this field. The work of Drs. Benedict, Mead, Gorer and Erikson may all be criticized on two grounds: first, they fail to test their hypotheses on an adequate sample of cultures; and second, they fail to insure independence of judgment with respect to the variables they are interrelating. In the present instance Dr. Erikson has tested his theory on only four cultures. Although a sample of four is certainly much better than a sample of one, it is still less convincing than if he had used a larger sample with more adequate material. It is relatively easy to present a consistent theory which will explain a small number of instances of highly selected and limited material, but to be really convincing such a theory must be put to the test of a far larger and more representative sample. In the opinion of this reviewer it is the responsibility of people working in the field to move forward to such a task.

The second weakness of the work done in this field is that the same person makes a judgment on the child training variables and the adult personality characteristics. Since the latter case in particular presents such a multiplicity of variables from which to select the personality traits, it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to eliminate bias.

Despite these criticisms, this reviewer feels that Dr. Erikson's book is a valuable contribution to the field of culture and personality.

BEATRICE BLYTH WHITING

*Brandeis University*

*Personality and Psychotherapy: An Analysis in Terms of Learning, Thinking, Culture.* By JOHN DOLLARD and NEAL E. MILLER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950. xiii, 488 pp. \$5.00.

This volume constitutes an attempt "to give a systematic analysis of neurosis and psychotherapy in terms of the psychological principles and social conditions of learning." Dollard and Miller view their work as an attempt to bring together certain aspects of the work of Freud and his students, the findings of such experimental psychologists as Pavlov, Thorndike and Hull, and modern social science.

Part I is primarily concerned with a description of the basic facets of neurosis. Conflict, stupidity, and misery are viewed as the three crucial factors in neurosis and their dynamic interrelationships are emphasized. Part II is largely an adaptation of the chapters on learning theory in the authors' earlier volume, *Social Imitation and Learning*. The basic thesis of the volume is that effective therapy provides a new set of conditions under which the patient *un-learns* his neurosis and *learns* more adaptive behavior. The learning theory chapters provide the assumptions and principles that the authors utilize to explain neurosis and successful therapy. Sociologists will find a number of provocative hypotheses in the chapter on learned drive and learned reinforcement. For example, socially learned drives such as the desire for higher status are linked with fear; and the impact of differential social conditions of learning on learned drives and learned reinforcements is considered.

Part III deals with how the normal person uses his mind in solving emotional problems. The writers are fully aware of the paucity of research findings on the utilization of the higher mental processes in solving emotional problems, and in consequence view their formulations as highly tentative. They hypothesize three levels of generalization and discrimination: (1) those based on innate similarities and differences; (2) those in which innate similarities and differences are augmented by cue-producing responses; and (3) those in which responses mediate the transfer of previously learned responses. They place great emphasis on the importance of language, reasoning and planning in the solution of emotional problems.

The next section of the volume deals with the problem of how neurosis is learned. This problem is resolved through an integration of Freudian and learning theory. "Neurotic conflicts are taught by parents and learned by children. . . . Infancy, indeed, may be viewed as a transitory psychosis. . . . Out of confused instructions to parents, combined with the character faults of parents themselves arise the situations in which children are put in severe conflict." The feeding situation, cleanliness training, sex training, and the handling of anger responses are viewed as crucial training situations in which acute emotional conflicts are created. The learning of neurotic symptoms and repression is elaborated in terms of the drive, cue, response, and reward learning-theory presented earlier in the volume.

Part V is concerned with the application of learning theory to the psychotherapy process. The free association technique, labelling, and discrimination are appraised in the learning theory context. Part VI focuses attention on the conflict phenomenon and Dollard and Miller stress the frequently overlooked point that the patient in addition to unlearning anxiety responses must learn to make new responses to real life situations. The chapter on the dynamics of conflict is especially challenging. As a consequence of four assumptions concerning gradients of approach and avoidance a series of deductions are made concerning the dynamics of conflict. If empirically verified they should be a distinct contribution to psychotherapy. The final parts of the book deal with the application of learning theory "principles" to the therapeutic technique and to "normal living."

Any serious attempt to provide a systematic theoretical formulation (and in consequence a more rational framework) for the etiology of neurosis and the process of psychotherapy must be viewed as an important contribution to social science. This book is such an attempt.

What are some of the consequences of the Dollard-Miller approach? Freud's generalized pleasure principle may be viewed in terms of the reward or reinforcement aspect of learning theory. Repression and transference are neatly tied into behavioral theory. The addition of the concepts of inhibition and restraint, in the analysis of repression and suppression, sharpen the Freudian analysis considerably. The ego-strength concept can be related to the higher mental processes. In short, many Freudian formulations can be treated in a more systematic framework and, of more importance, they can more easily be subjected to experimental testing.

Any attempt to provide a systematic theoretical framework for the analysis of neurosis and psychotherapy at this stage of psychological and social science knowledge can be criticized on numerous grounds. The Dollard-Miller formulation is no exception. The learning theory framework results in a highly formalistic and atomistic analysis of neurosis. No allowance is made for emergencies. The field and gestalt approaches are waved aside. Role theory is discarded. The integration of role theory, for example, into learning theory analyses would have been extremely helpful in aligning neurosis with sub-cultural variability and the social structure. Many of Freud's refinements are bypassed in the authors' zeal to place Freudian ideas in a behav-

ioral frame of reference. In addition the reader is once again asked to accept the assumption that knowledge regarding abnormal behavior will be directly relevant in the explanation of the determinants of normal behavior.

One can hardly object to the attribution of stupidity to the neurotic in the sense of the inability of the use of the mind in dealing with certain problems. However, it should also be pointed out that what the therapist views as stupid behavior is for the neurotic the most adequate defense that can be devised to meet his problems. In short, a neurotic's behavior may appear to be stupid when compared to a set of normative behaviors but if we carry the learning theory proposed to its logical conclusions the neurotic can hardly be viewed as stupid.

The portions of the volume dealing with the social conditions of learning are the least adequate and clearly reveal how little is known about these conditions and why some individuals become neurotic and others do not under highly similar social conditions. In this area the sociologist has done little research; the importance of the problem certainly demands interdisciplinary cooperation among psychologists, psychotherapists and sociologists.

When experimental evidence is available the authors use it fairly and critically. When it does not exist they frequently develop assumptions and hypotheses to carry them over the lacunae. But they are aware of the tentativeness that must in consequence be attached to their analyses. In the best scientific sense they point out possible limitations and inadequacies of their assumptions and hypotheses. The book is packed with innumerable hypotheses that should satiate the thesis appetites of mature graduate students in social psychology.

The authors repeatedly emphasize the need for more systematic observation of the interactions between the patient and the therapist and the socialization of the child in his home environment. It may be suggested that peer groups of young children also receive more attention as possible focal points for traumatic experiences. Sociologists are frequently upset by the relative lack of concern shown by psychiatrists with primary groups other than the family.

This is a provocative book. Some psychologists, sociologists, and psychotherapists will undoubtedly take the position that in view of our present limited knowledge such a volume is premature. This reviewer takes the opposite position. Whether or not the theoretical formula-



tion and the consequent hypotheses are subsequently supported or rejected, this volume provides a series of trenchant hypotheses and it gives them a theoretical footing. Books of this type do not frequently appear. When they do, they merit careful reading.

NEAL GROSS

*University of Minnesota*

*Studies in Leadership: Leadership and Democratic Action.* Edited by ALVIN W. GOULDNER. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950. xvi, 736 pp. \$5.00.

This book is a compilation of thirty-three articles of which about half are reprints from books and periodicals, the others are published here for the first time. The authors, with one or two exceptions, are professors—mostly of sociology. There are no women represented except two co-authors. For the most part, the writers are not widely known; which says nothing against their technical competence.

The book has five parts. Part I, *Types of Leaders*, deals sketchily with bureaucrats, agitators, intellectuals, and informal leaders. Part II is concerned with leadership in selected groups. Business and labor leaders have the first section to themselves. The second section deals with four minority groups: Negroes, Jews, Italians, and women. Political leadership comes next, ranging all the way from president down to ward-healers. There is a slight and casual discussion of countries with different political ideologies from our own.

Part III contrasts democratic and authoritarian leadership. It presents some techniques by which, it is alleged, authoritarian leaders can be controlled within a democratic society. These sum up to responsibility to the electorate. The only case in which dictatorship was ever successfully legalized and controlled—the ancient Roman Republic—is not mentioned. Authoritarian propaganda is dealt with, but the reasons for its success (or failure) are not clearly brought out.

Part IV is concerned with the ethics and techniques of leadership. After some observations on mass apathy, there are proposals for democratic participation and followership. The subject cannot be properly treated without more knowledge of casuistry than any of the writers possess. A reasonably competent Jesuit could do twice as well in half the space.

Part V, for some reason not discoverable, is entitled "Affirmations and Resolutions." It con-

tains no more of either than the other parts. It deals with Power Seekers, the Sociology of Authority, and the connection between Leadership and Social Crisis.

The book is well tied together by the editor, Professor Gouldner of the University of Buffalo. He contributes the introduction, summaries of the various parts and comment, and one of the thirty-three articles as well. He is skillful in showing the relationship between divergent and even contradictory selections. His writing suffers from one deadly defect—a defect he shares with the majority of sociologists—which is an unreadable style. Here is a book on a subject of very general interest. It contains useful data on a matter of vital importance. Most of it is so badly written that hardly anybody, except professional sociologists, will ever read it. Many persons, attracted by the title, may start the book eagerly. Very few and very weary will the survivors be who struggle through to page seven hundred and twenty. Social science differs from physical science in one important respect. Its findings cannot be put into effect except by the participation of a large section of the general public. A few engineers can build the bridges for a large community. A few social scientists cannot democratize a large community. Sociologists have knowledge useful to society. The ineffectiveness of sociologists is a by-word. This ineffectiveness is in large measure due to the use of a senseless jargon. The profession brings ridicule upon itself by stupid and perverse polysyllabic platitudinousness and circumlocutionary verbosity. Half of an ordinary sociology book is dull, stale, commonplace. Half of the rest is diffuse beyond the point of tediousness. Occasional real insights are to be found, but the pint of wheat is hidden in a bushel of chaff.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

*Fairfield, Connecticut*

*Kinder aus geschiedenen Ehen: eine Untersuchung über den Einfluss der Ehescheidung auf Schicksal und Entwicklung der Kinder nach ärztlichen, juristischen und fürsorgerischen Fragestellungen.* By CARL HAFFTER. Bern: Medizinischer Verlag Hans Huber, 1948. 175 pp.

The author of this detailed report on the influence of divorce on children studied the lives of children of one hundred randomly selected couples in Basel, Switzerland, whose marriages

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were terminated by divorce between 1920 and 1944. He interviewed all children of these families, at least one parent, foster parents, teachers, and social workers, and examined the files of orphanages, children's homes, juvenile courts, and schools respectively. The results of this investigation constitute an important contribution to understanding of the influence of divorce on the lives of children of divorced parents and of the problems of divorce itself. American sociologists of the family may benefit from the comparative data which it provides.

The results of this careful research should affect jurisdiction in the realm of Swiss family law no less than its practical application, but their theoretical interest should extend far beyond the country of their origin. The overwhelming significance of the family milieu for the development of children has rarely been more fully documented in a modern society.

Haffter found that the milieu of two-thirds of all his cases had been unfavorable to the children before the divorce of their parents became final. In one-third of all cases, half of the children had never experienced an orderly family situation. Nearly one-half of those children whose parents were divorced showed later symptoms of deep emotional disturbances. The loss of the mother through divorce, according to these findings, entailed a severe loss in the emotional security of the child at any age. When given a choice between parents, more children desired assignment to the mother than to the father. There were, however, disadvantages in the assignment of a child to the mother: difficult economic conditions, social discrimination, and, frequently, rather limited prospects for vocational training. In addition to these unfavorable social conditions, unfavorable psychological consequences were also observed: especially detrimental to the child's adjustment, particularly in the case of an only daughter, was a neurotic and bitter mother. Assignment of children to the father, on the other hand, seemed to be even more of a risk because, unless he remarried, he could not provide a satisfactory home environment for the children. Happy relationships with stepmothers could mostly be found for younger children. It was observed that adolescent daughters faced the possibility of father fixation, which sometimes seemed to facilitate incest.

In his discussion of their parents' divorce Haffter found one hundred of the adolescent and adult offspring to assert strongly that the event had marked a favorable turn in their lives. Only

thirty children of divorced couples looked askance at the divorce of their parents. Objective examination of *all* cases did not seem to justify such a division of attitudes, although the investigator believed that favorable results of divorce outnumbered unfavorable ones.

The author is strongly opposed to the idea that all developmental difficulties in children of divorced families are to be attributed to the impact of divorce. He asserts that in many of his cases thoughtless pre-marital relationship promoted marriages with inferior partners. In evaluating the damage which divorce may bring to the child, he comes to the conclusion that the amount and kind of damage depends upon the age at which the change of milieu takes place. The deepest trauma, the separation from the mother, can avoid ill effects only if the break occurs in the first years of life or after puberty. Pre-puberty and puberty are dangerous developmental phases for this traumatic experience.

Two-fifths of the normal children of divorced parents showed in their later lives disadvantageous or bad consequences of severe traumatic experiences in their childhood. The author mentions especially shiftlessness, failure in school and occupation, disturbances in sexual development, and poor sexual adjustment in marriage.

What can be done to obviate or reduce these problems among the children of divorced parents? The most radical suggestion is to prevent such marriages as may end in divorce. If that fails, children of divorced families can be aided in their adjustment problems by having social workers, psychologists, and especially child psychologists, work with the children, the parents, and foster parents. The author stresses the necessity for therapeutic help for the divorcee with children.

The book contains many similarities to problems of American family life. Its findings provide food for thought to judges of domestic courts, social workers, psychologists and sociologists.

ERNA BARSCHAK

*Miami University, Oxford, Ohio*

*Ritual in Family Living: A Contemporary Study.* By JAMES H. S. BOSSARD and ELEANOR S. BOLL. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950. 228 pp. \$3.50.

The place of ritual in contemporary family living, defined by these authors as practices which are recurrent, rigid, and possess a sense of rightness, is examined by Bossard and Boll

in this valuable contribution to studies of family culture. As demonstrated by the case fragments which they report, such rituals exist abundantly throughout family interaction in both routine and ceremonial relationships of members, regularizing and solidifying them and giving them emotional content. Modern rituals, when contrasted to those of primitive families, appear more constructed and fitted to particular families, therefore are more private, more secular, simpler, and less prescribed. This being the case, they rise in and are adapted to the family cycle, are more numerous in upper than lower class families, survive better in families continuous in time and place, and change with changing circumstances.

Because they are sociologists, Bossard and Boll have been primarily interested in the social consequences of ritual upon family relationships. For this reason, also perhaps because their work method precluded it, they have not pushed the theoretical development of ritual very far, nor related it to other theory, nor considered its connection with the origin and transmission of culture, although they have suggested this last as a subject for later research. It is probable, also, that they claim too much as rituals, since some of the practices which they cite seem to be merely individual and family habits, without the something added needed to make them rituals.

This is, despite these limitations, a valuable preliminary study of rituals, and Bossard and Boll have enhanced their reputation as foremost students of family culture by it. As in their other studies, their research methods have relied largely upon analysis of autobiographies and student reminiscences, to lesser extent upon questionnaires and direct observation, with about 400 case records having been assembled for this volume. The writing is clear, precise, and non-technical, although the narrative is slowed down by the authors' predilection for constant classification of their findings, and some amount of repetition which has occurred because they wrote the various chapters separately.

JOHN SIRJAMAKI

*Yale University*

*Philanthropic Giving.* By F. EMERSON ANDREWS.  
New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1950.  
318 pp. \$3.00.

Here is the most up-to-date, comprehensive, and authoritative statement on the financing of philanthropic activities. It carries the author's

earlier interest (*American Foundations for Social Welfare*, by Shelby M. Harrison and F. Emerson Andrews, Russell Sage Foundation, 1946) forward beyond the foundation field into the larger area of philanthropy in all of its common forms.

Philanthropic gifts are defined for the practical purposes of this book as "allowable contributions" for income-tax purposes according to the U. S. Internal Revenue Code. Income, gift- and estate-tax returns, along with foundation reports of grants, provide the main sources of information supplied by givers, and these are checked by the income records of philanthropic organizations. Private philanthropy's annual receipts in recent years amount to about four billion dollars, more than half of which is supplied by the lowest-income groups (under \$3,000) who, incidentally, give primarily to the church. Large as it appears, the total of American giving is probably less than two cents on the dollar of national income. Following analysis of the givers—individuals, business corporations, labor unions, and foundations—consideration is given to the organizations that solicit and receive gifts, the services supported, and the methods of fund raising. International as well as national activities are included.

Though the field of private philanthropy is large, it has been eclipsed in recent years by the expansion of government services in the fields of education, health, and welfare. From the financial standpoint, the ratio of government to voluntary spending for welfare purposes is about nine to one. Historically viewed, what are now accepted as essential public services were initiated by pioneering ventures supported by private gifts. The role of experimenting and demonstrating is still primarily a function of the private agency.

Of professional interest to social scientists are the chapters on Financing Research and on Foundations and Community Trusts, wherein it is pointed out that "neither government nor business . . . is likely to undertake research into the really controversial problems of the social sciences. Foundations are the 'venture capital' of philanthropy. . . . They have an opportunity, and perhaps a special responsibility, for helping push forward today's most important frontier—the study of man himself and his relationships."

Nine brief appendices and an adequate index complete the volume.

MAURICE R. DAVIE

*Yale University*

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*Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Method of "The American Soldier."* Edited by ROBERT K. MERTON and PAUL F. LAZARSFELD. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950. 255 pp. \$3.50.

In order that the impact of *The American Soldier* may be sustained this book comes as a re-emphasis of its potentialities and partly as a deflator of its enemies. Since *The American Soldier* itself does not illustrate how the "new science" may be employed to transform the old social-psychological concepts into "systematic empirical data," the editors, fearing that continuity in the "accumulation of social science knowledge" may be broken, offer here to pilot and encourage the hesitant student.

Of the six essays in this symposium, three, those by Edward A. Shils, Robert K. Merton and Alice S. Kitt, and Hans Speier propose to show how such more or less established concepts as the primary group, reference groups, and social perspectivism may be made more precisely meaningful when operationally characterized by data available in *The American Soldier*. The methodology and techniques of *The Soldier* and their significance for the future of "social science" are explained by Patricia L. Kendal and Paul F. Lazarsfeld and by Samuel A. Stouffer. A piquant analysis by Daniel Lerner of the numerous reviews of the major work concludes the book.

The primary-group concept which Shils essays to enlarge and to give specificity is the well-known formulation by Charles H. Cooley. Although the author refers to Cooley, he does not move logically from the known attributes of the primary group to the new elaboration, but rather appears to enter a discussion of sporadic hypotheses which may or may not be pertinent to the basic theory. The following is our contributor's choice morsel on primary groups in the army:

The men in my *squad* were my special friends. My best friend was the sergeant of the squad. We bunked together, told each other where our money was pinned in our shirts. We write each other now. Expect to get together when the war is over. . . . If one man gets a letter from home, the whole *company* reads it. Whatever belongs to me belongs to the whole *outfit* (p. 18; from *The American Soldier*, Vol. II, p. 99. Reviewer's italics).

This, according to Shils, is a "concrete depiction" of primary group relations; and, without

suggesting what amount of salt the reader should take with it or the limiting nature of its context, proceeds to further elucidations. Among the theories derived we may mention as illustrative only two: (a) replacements were less integrated into their units, hence more isolated, therefore more fearful, and consequently more likely to resort to prayer (pp. 26-27); (b) "the protective function [of the officer] is of great importance in the formation of officer-soldier primary groups" (p. 33).

Perhaps there are data in *The American Soldier* useful for a systematic clarification of the primary group concept. To this reviewer, however, Shils scarcely makes this apparent. We should like to know what groups in the army are considered primary: the squad, the company, the outfit? Are they the cliques, buddies, comradeship groups? Is there a confusion between primary-group theory and in-group theory? If the attitudes of officers determine significantly when "an aggregate of individuals [will] become a primary group" (p. 35), may we conclude that the higher the rank of the motivating officer the more inclusive the constituency of the primary group? The primary group, we think, is a *group* characterized by certain social relationships and not merely by one relationship or even by a number of relationships selected according to certain hidden criteria from a variety of group situations.

The concept of *relative deprivation*, probably the most significant contribution of *The American Soldier* to the content of social psychology, is affiliated to the generic matrix of "reference group behavior" by Merton and Kitt. Reference groups are those groups which are or "can become points of reference for shaping one's attitudes, evaluations and behavior" (p. 50). The authors illustrate this with data relative to different behavior expressions drawn from the basic materials. It appears to us, however, that in their obvious inclination to extend the scope of this concept they have given it a tautologous aspect vis-à-vis the societal fact that all meaningful human behavior is socially referential.

Space does not permit us to do justice to Hans Speier's organization of data from *The American Soldier* to demonstrate that "social perspectives" vary with the status of the individual and "the subject matter to which opinion pertains."

However, the real significance of this book and of its parent text inheres not particularly in the exactitude of their formulations, but

rather in their challenge. Even if we had indeed shown that here and there a faulty use had been made of the data or had gone back into the original material discovering imperfections, these would probably have resulted in little or no detracting from the significance of the project. Its achievements lie in its approach to the study of social attitudes, an unshakable devotion to the controversial hypothesis that attitudes can be measured. Samuel Stouffer himself points to this central purpose in saying: "The present book represents a challenge to the new generation of social psychologists and sociologists to be dissatisfied with the past . . . and to master the techniques necessary to make better techniques, better social theory, and more effective social action" (p. 211). It is on the basis of the declared success of its methodology, then, and indeed of its methodology as a whole, which attains a focus in "the controlled experiment" and the questionnaire, that the work presumes it is finally leaving behind the procedures of the "old theorists."

Specifically, the authors—or should we say the school?—do not question the existence of social attitudes nor even their traditional conceptualization as dynamic tendencies, yet they insist that attitudes must be so defined as to come within reach of statistical devices. How can we know what people will do, at a given time under specified conditions? The assumption is that social psychology is interested not in what an identifiable individual will do (hence the anonymity of the data), but in what proportion of a given mass of people will behave in a particular way. If the attitudes can be known, then the desired knowledge about action can be achieved through prediction; and it is further maintained that verbal answers to "scientifically" constructed questions supplemented by "informal 'sizing-up' of the situation" and by other "operational statistics" are the best known means of securing measurable data on efficient social attitudes. This approach has been a long time developing. Its finest flower is *The American Soldier* and the latter's advocate under review.

The free-swinging indictment of the social sciences *in toto* for their not being mensurative has already drenched in affective moods certain areas of specialization; and yet, in the future study of social attitudes, it seems most likely that the statisticians will decide when, where, and perhaps with what weapons the battles will be fought. As Stouffer remarks triumphantly: "The beauty of the procedure is that issues like this are settled empirically and do not have to

trail off into verbal futility." (*The American Soldier*, Vol. I, p. 35).

OLIVER C. COX

*Lincoln University, Missouri.*

*Industrial Sociology: An Introduction to the Sociology of Work Relations.* By DELBERT C. MILLER and WILLIAM H. FORM. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951. xi, 896 pp. \$6.00.

Any person who has been teaching a course in industrial sociology must be searching for a book which will provide a balanced and intelligible text in this field. Miller and Form have written a book which is by far the most acceptable of those now available for teaching purposes, especially at the undergraduate level. Its flow of subject matter, formulation of problems, and guides for discussion make this book the most useful from the students' point of view. The terminology and grammatical construction are a happy balance between the elementary level of writing in one text, and the intellectualized jargon of an alternative. The divisions by chapter and topic, with the additional reading assignments and discussion guides, enhance its applicability to course usage. The sections which deal with the sources of knowledge about industrial social behavior and the means for acquiring such knowledge fill a gap which has been notable in other works which have aimed to provide understanding and training in this field. Especially valuable are the sections dealing with the sociological approach to industry and the subject matter which such an approach must encompass.

It is unfortunate that all writing in both industrial sociology and industrial psychology seems inevitably to place so great an emphasis upon the Hawthorne experiment. Granting the fame and historical significance of that research, however, one must perhaps compromise with an acceptance of this emphasis but insist upon an adequate statement of what occurred and the effect which it had upon subsequent works. Miller and Form have done the best job of summary presentation of this problem which the reviewer has seen. The evolution from individualistic interpretation of human behavior to a recognition of social or group factors is set forth in a clear, logical, and convincing manner.

While the general format of this book is the best which has yet appeared, the specific treatment of much of the content does not deserve such commendation. For instance, students utilizing this text would get the impression that

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industrial sociology has developed primarily in the United States. Although the chart which presumes to outline the evolution of knowledge of industrial relations includes such Europeans as Marx, Tawney, Weber, and Durkheim, it omits a scholar such as Briefs, who in 1935 defined and described nearly all of the "in-plant" organization and attitudes which have been "discovered" in later years by American writers. The picture of academic interest in industrial relations which contributed to current sociological thought is incomplete and somewhat misleading. Important writers such as Henri Fayol, Werner Sombart, Georg Simmel, and all of the Princeton group do not appear in the chart or in the discussion. The intellectual history presented might better have been organized around leaders and their disciples rather than upon the basis of such arbitrary distinctions as are represented by institutional economics versus industrial and labor economics; industrial management versus personnel management; "Harvard" business administration versus public administration.

One of the most serious defects of this volume is the relative lack of balance among the topics which may be included in a total coverage of industrial sociology. Upon the basis of page allotment and detail of treatment, one would conclude that this work began as a treatise on work adjustment and career patterns, and that the sections dealing with the organization of management and union, and the relation of industry to community and society were tacked on as an afterthought. There seems little doubt that the treatment of worker placement and adjustment and the process of maturation on the job are the most complete and carefully documented which have appeared in print on such a comprehensive scale. The greatest value of this book for teaching will be found in these chapters.

The sections which deal with the more formal or institutionalized levels of industrial relations are weak in factual presentation; a more serious criticism is the orientation which the student may derive from the emphasis provided. Power relationships between organized labor and management are very briefly described as they appear at the local level, and are minimized almost to the point of disappearance at the regional and national levels. The interaction of organized labor and organized management is so poorly handled that no beginning student will become aware of this crucial area in industrial relations. The impact of both unions and corporations

as established, power-wielding and socially determinative institutions is very much underplayed in the descriptive and analytic treatment.

The elaborate treatment of individual and categorical career patterns, along with the concern for the adjustment of workers and other individuals to their job positions, coupled with the weak analysis of institutional relations and power considerations leaves one (especially the student) with the impression that the major problems in industrial society are to be resolved by the proper placement of persons in a relatively fixed and unchangeable social order. Such an interpretation may bring solace to those who wish to reduce mass problems and attitudes to an individual basis; it does not satisfy those who recognize the importance of organizational influences and the dynamic character of institutional forms in modern society.

DONALD E. WRAY

*University of Illinois*

*Industrial Revolution in Mexico.* By SANFORD A. MOSK. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950. vii, 331 pp. \$3.75.

The economic aspects of what Mexicans usually choose to call the "Revolution" may be grouped roughly into three chronological periods. The first was a period of armed conflict, 1910-1920, when civil war was waged largely between the "haves" and "have nots." The second period, 1920-1940, was one of agrarian legislation, policy and programs culminating in the redistribution of land and the organization of the ejido program. Since 1940, Mexico's efforts have led in the direction of stimulating and promoting industrialization. It is this last period with which this book is concerned.

The author spent a year in Mexico on a Guggenheim fellowship gathering data for the study. The work is divided into three parts. Part I is concerned with what the author calls "Attitudes and Points of View." In this section, Mexico's urge to industrialize, her new group of industrialists, and governmental policy are described. Part II deals with industrial growth in Mexico, principally since 1940. This traces through developments in the various industrial fields and analyzes Mexico's experience in subsidizing manufacturing through tax exemptions. Part III, entitled "Problems," discusses the various obstacles to industrial development. These include the lack of purchasing power because of the low standards of living of the masses and consequent small size of the internal



market, lack of capital and credit, problems of labor, technicians and management, inflation and international problems.

The book is a real contribution to the available literature on the economy of Mexico. It emphasizes both the possibilities of industrialization and the problems likely to impede it. In only a few instances does the treatment appear to be altogether too sketchy to be adequate. The chapter on "Organized Labor and Industrialization," for example, contains less than six pages and these are devoted largely to the attitudes of labor leaders towards industrialization. Broad generalizations about the inadequacy of the diet in Mexico are made on page 205, without taking into account recent studies by R. K. Anderson, René Cravioto B., and others, which tend to throw some doubt on the accuracy of these presuppositions. These minor inadequacies, however, do not detract greatly from the importance of the work.

N. L. WHETTEN

*The University of Connecticut*

*Citizenship and Social Class: And Other Essays.*

By T. H. MARSHALL. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1950. ix, 155 pp. \$2.50.

Professor T. H. Marshall's little book consists of his two Alfred Marshall Memorial Lectures delivered at Cambridge in 1949, and here combined as the title paper, and three earlier papers on stratification and the professions which appeared between 1934 and 1939. The dates are noteworthy because the most recent paper, "Citizenship and Social Class," exemplifies some of the challenges which face the sociologist who works in a society exposed to the trials of conscious change. The author is Professor of Social Institutions in the London School of Economics.

The earlier papers on class phenomena steer a somewhat devious course between the twin dangers of objectivism and subjectivism. "The objectivity of class consists," we are told, "not in the criteria that distinguish it, but in the social relations that it produces, and its subjectivity is the basic need for mutual conscious recognition." Class itself Marshall views alternatively as either a force or principle permeating the whole community, or as an "identity group." Each formula entails the unification among people who differ from one another "by overriding the differences between them." In an avowed simplification, he holds that class conflict ensues "when a common interest unites adjacent social levels in opposition to more dis-

tant social levels," a position which introduces the element of interest which is scrupulously avoided in another context.

The paper on professionalism examines the dilemmas of the professional vis-a-vis both the going economic system and the state. In the latter relationship "the professions are being socialized and the social and public services are being professionalized." This social convergence contrasts with the emergent "social affinities between the upper ranks of certain professions and of finance capitalism," and is perhaps buttressed by the "rapid spread of the forms of professional organization among occupational groups which are not professions in the full sense of the term." What is most obviously lacking in such an account is an anticipatory awareness of the diffusion of the professional spirit into the managerial ranks of monopolistic and oligopolistic organizations. As our own T.N.E.C. and Cellers investigations have suggested, the ideals of community service and quiet stabilized gains distinguish the large corporation's ideology from its smaller (sub-contracted!) "rivals."

But it is the title paper that offers most promise, since citizenship appears to be a "generative concept," i.e. one which spells out larger implications for sociological theory and research no less than for social policy. "Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed." Bearing on MacIver's concept of community, Gidding's consciousness of kind, and providing a new slant on Sumner's ethnocentrism, the Marshall concept of citizenship helps to relate empirical research in minority group psychology, penology, sociology of cults, and sociological psycho-pathology to a core social problem—what are the differential consequences of participation in what may be termed "constrained sub-groups" as opposed to institutionalized full participation in a wider community?

Furthermore, because he deals with new materials, it is understandable that Marshall will describe, if only by implication, novel social phenomena. Here are a few examples with the reviewer's own labels. (1) *Heuristic democratization*. In a semi-planned society, operating in part in an old class system, the planners will be forced to the fiction of treating the whole population as though it were one class. (2) *Legitimate expectation vs. legitimate fulfillment of expectation*. This is one of the planning society's equivalents to the liberal society's ascetic-

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cism. Evidently this distinction arises as a compromise between the collective and individual elements in social rights. (3) *Citizen vs. stranger*. The very sharpness of Marshall's new focus upon citizenship necessitates a re-examination of an earlier theoretical discussion, Simmel's essay on the stranger. "In spite of being inorganically appended to it," Simmel says, "the stranger is yet an organic member of the group. Its uniform life includes the specific conditions of this element." Implicit in such a definition, one feels, is a typology of community statuses which might have directed Marshall toward inquiries of another order. This classification would distinguish the *citizen*, with full "entitlement" to community participation, from the *stranger*, for whom there is a form of institutionalized allowance but who has a minimum sense of identification with the citizens. It would further permit discrimination between the *dispossessed native* who feels that he belongs but receives only minimum services from the institutional complement and the uprooted denizens who don't belong and are generally overlooked in community provisioning.

In terms of this approach one might ask, for instance, if some of the emphasized opposition to social services might not be reinterpreted as the resentment of Conservative citizens "estranged from the new society" as the bulk of their countrymen seem to move from the dispossessed native category into full citizenship? The basis for their social position having shifted, some of them may eventually head for those remaining colonies where they can "belong"—as top dog. Or, again, one might ask if there are differences in the proportions in the four statuses as between nationalized and private businesses.

A brief review cannot explore the full significance of this generative concept and the new experiences leading to its selection. It is to be hoped that other social scientists will join with Professor Marshall in its further refinement and cumulative study.

SEYMOUR FIDDLE

Columbia University

*Agrarian Socialism: The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan; A Study in Political Sociology.* By S. M. LIPSET. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950. xvii, 315 pp. \$4.50.

Students of Canadian political party history will be greatly indebted to Professor Lipset for the extremely thorough and highly competent

study which he has made of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan. This is a study built out of careful research. Dr. Lipset has amassed a great deal of important data relating to the economic and social background of the C.C.F. movement in Saskatchewan, the growing class consciousness of Saskatchewan farmers, the growth of the movement to power, its ideology and program, the character of the people who supported it, the character of its leadership, the relationship of the movement to social change, and the problems resulting from the building up of a bureaucratic organization. These data he has analyzed with great patience and skill. References to the work of Max Weber and Robert Michels reflects the author's effort to examine his problem in broad perspective and to see what was happening in Saskatchewan in relation to such general problems as those of political leadership, political apathy, and freedom.

To criticize this book is perhaps more a demonstration of the reviewer's biases than of the author's shortcomings, but the book seems to me to display two major defects. Though Professor Lipset describes his study in a subtitle as one in political sociology he has failed to clearly formulate his problem in theoretical terms. The theory—both political and sociological—is too often dragged into the study in the way almost of an aside. Too many of the theoretical formulations appear to be forced upon rather than to grow out of the data. One looks in vain for any dominating theme running throughout the study. Certainly there seems to be lacking any central body of theory about which the study is built which would justify the use of the sub-title *political sociology*.

If the study is lacking in theoretical depth, it is even more deficient in historical depth. Much is to be gained by showing the similarity between the C.C.F. in Saskatchewan and such other movements as the Non-Partisan League in North Dakota, but in making such comparison the author has failed to reveal the relationship of developments in Saskatchewan to the economic and social structure of the Canadian community at large and to place the problem he studies in its historical setting. There is no suggestion here that Mr. Lipset should have embarked upon an examination of the Reform movement in Upper Canada in the 1830's, the Clear Grit movement in Canada West in the 1850's, or the Riel movement in the Northwest territories in the 1880's, but his handling of the problem does reveal a lack of familiarity with

the way in which the growth of the C.C.F. in Saskatchewan was related to developments of the past and in other parts of the country. To some extent this is a weakness of the case-study method of approach. To isolate the C.C.F. in Saskatchewan for study is to exclude from examination many of the most important facts which give such a movement meaning. If looked at in broad perspective, it is doubtful if the C.C.F. is as politically significant as the author of the foreword to Mr. Lipset's book seems to suppose.

S. D. CLARK

*The University of Toronto*

*A Study of Power: World Politics and Personal Insecurity.* By HAROLD D. LASSWELL; *Political Power.* By CHARLES E. MERRIAM; *Power and Conscience.* By T. V. SMITH. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950. 307 pp.+331 pp.+373 pp. \$6.00.

The phenomenon of power in human relations is once more attracting the attention of the social sciences. Although there is widespread interest in sociological circles in various facets of power (e.g., systems of authority and their legitimation, influence and influentials, leadership and group decisions, circulation of elites and social stratification, social control in primary groups and in large-scale social systems, bureaucracy, garrison-police states, etc.) we have yet to unify the scattered fragments of knowledge into a coherent body of interrelated propositions and to undertake the empirical research required to verify the almost embarrassingly large number of extant hypotheses. This trilogy makes apparent the potentialities for further sociological studies of power. The three authors draw upon the social sciences for schemes to explore the patternings of power and encounter some of their greatest conceptual and methodological difficulties in areas where sociological work is lacking.

The reissue as a single monograph of the three separate books which comprise *A Study of Power* is altogether fitting for the authors not only acknowledge their mutual indebtedness but also reveal in their individual writings the direct influence each has had upon the others. Although written in the first part of the nineteen-thirties, the books are not outdated in the scientific problems posed, nor outmoded in their appraisals of the prevailing conditions of the world.

Lasswell's *World Politics and Personal In-*

*security* combines a sophisticated set of political theories with a provocative type of psycho-analytical interpretation of collective behavior. The adroit skill in the application of this two-pronged approach to power makes for penetrating and illuminating insights. Yet, despite the brilliant analysis, the work leaves unresolved the crucial questions raised and yields only plausible and largely unconfirmed generalizations. The author is aware of this dilemma and views his task as being mainly a preliminary one. Some of the difficulties of this pilot study have been met in the constructs formulated in Lasswell-Kaplan's recent book, *Power and Society*. The analysis could be strengthened through the further utilization of sociological theories (e.g., Weber's treatment of authority) and by the incorporation of anthropological work on cross-cultural relations involving superordination-subordination of societies. Some of the postulates designed to serve as explanatory hypotheses, e.g., yearnings for the quietness of the womb, castration complex, and libidinal cathexis, can be replaced readily by less contrived, empirically testable, and more incisively discriminating ones from social psychology and social anthropology without any loss to the themes themselves. The most promising portions of this study for the sociologist are not the high level abstractions but the subordinate ones which stem from these. They offer suggestive models of power configurations that both lend themselves to research design and present crucial scientific problems. Exemplifying these are typologies of the circular interplay between social symbols and individual behavior in power relationships (which has been dealt with in a narrower way in the contexts of communications research) and categories of power skills in relationship to violence, goods, services, social organization, revolutionary movements, etc. (outlined earlier and more segmentally by many analysts from Machiavelli to Cooley.)

Merriam's *Political Power* is a perceptive essay on the function of power as a means of social control in large-scale social structures. It represents the mature reflections of a distinguished political scientist whose primary concern is not with the description of the administrative organizations of the state but rather with depicting the pervasive political processes of modern nations. The approach is both analytical and illustrative. Power relationships and their characteristics are examined within a "natural history" from "birth to death," using cases

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drawn from current events in the Western world. Though the main focus is political power, the analysis extends into its social dimensions. This provides a framework for many suggestive formulations which are equally applicable to the study of power in other institutional relationships.

T. V. Smith's *Power and Conscience* is an instructive philosophical inquiry into the relationship of values to power; it is a searching critique of ethical positions which flow from various systems of theory, including some sociological ones, and a proposal of an ethic. Although the main themes fall outside the scope of sociological consideration, there are nevertheless sections that converge on matters sociological. The author makes explicit a premise that often is half concealed in analyses of the normative aspects of power; power is construed to be force and hence the antithesis of consent—the latter being the arena in which conscience may pervade decisions. Unlike others who start with this disputable assertion, he does not accept this position as axiomatic but rather postulates it as a point of departure for a full-scale examination. This serves to clarify a popular normative position. It does not attempt the sociological problem of tracing the interconnections between power and other values in society in a manner comparable to studies of the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism. Within Smith's scheme there is little legitimate place for a code of values attached to power as a means, an end or a condition within cultures, for power and values are polarized. Within its own specified province, the study offers a humanistic treatise on the implications of alternative moral codes and the options men have in a world aspiring to what he designates as "civilization."

These three books call attention once more to the great need for the sociological exploitation of prior beginnings lest we continue to relegate viable ideas to the sterile history of social thought rather than use them as baselines for the advancement of sociological knowledge. Their republication may serve the purpose of avoiding a loss to the discipline, for the human issues seem even more in need of scientific exploration than at the time they first appeared in print.

We are indebted to the Free Press for making possible the reissue of classics worthy of perpetuation in the social sciences.

JOHN USEEM

Michigan State College

*Democracy in a World of Tensions: A Symposium Prepared by UNESCO.* Edited by RICHARD McKEON and STEIN ROKKAN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951. xviii, 540 pp. \$4.50;

*War and the Minds of Men.* By FREDERICK S. DUNN. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950. xvi, 115 pp. \$2.00;

*Public Opinion and Political Dynamics.* By MARGURY BLADEN OGLE, JR. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950. v, 362 pp. \$3.50.

The whole idea of achieving political and social ends by the manipulation of public opinion is the core of discussion in these three volumes. But there is a world of difference among the contributions made by each volume to this field.

Too bad that the editors and co-authors of *Democracy in a World of Tensions* could not have read Dunn's brilliant analysis and evaluation of the aims and accomplishments of UNESCO. There, for instance, Dunn emphasizes that "much of UNESCO's program seems to be based on the commonly held notion that if one has a good idea or message, he merely has to cast it out as bread upon the waters and it will reach its proper audience. But all the available evidence appears to be against this assumption." (pp. 50-51) Elsewhere he points out that there is hardly any correlation between the amount of "good" printed material and its propaganda results. (pp. 71ff) The volume edited by McKean not only abounds in words and authors, but rehashes the semantic arguments over a topic which has been rehashed and discussed over and over again in volumes without number. The work contains "a selection" from the answers of scientists, humanists, and philosophers to a questionnaire on ideological conflicts concerning democracy, and also analyses of points of difference and agreement on such questions as: Is the term "democracy" ambiguous? Is it being misused in contemporary political discussions? Are there opposed and incompatible forms of democracy, i.e. political and social? Does tolerance of differences make democracy vulnerable? Is there agreement among the victorious "democracies" of World War II concerning ultimate objectives? The answers here are just as confusing as the search for them. The book lists five pages of "Selected Bibliographies," with some 250 titles. The present volume is merely another useless addition to such compendia of semantic jiu-jitsu covering this field of definitions and re-definitions.

UNESCO certainly could make more definite

contributions to its assigned task by sponsoring such studies as Dunn's little book. He raises certain fundamental questions: Who communicates what—to whom? Can UNESCO reach the people of the world directly, or must it act through national governments? What is to be the content of its messages? He finds some concrete answers in the scientific findings in sociology and the related fields, especially those which allow for empirical evaluation of their results.

Ogle's treatise obviously has been prepared as a textbook for courses in public opinion and propaganda taught under the auspices of political science departments. It contributes nothing new whatever; it is poorly organized and contains too little sociology to warrant extensive consideration here. The author devotes the first eleven chapters to a discussion of various aspects of public opinion; the subject of "Propaganda" turns up only as Chapter 12; and Chapter 13 returns again to the field of public opinion (this time in its measurement). While Ogle stresses the fact that "more than half of the work has been devoted to analysis of the relation of opinion to government" (p. iii), he fails to note some of the classic works in this field, e.g. Roberto Michels, and Thurman W. Arnold, to start with. He seems also to be quite attracted toward anti-rationalist assumptions (pp. 19-29) and limits himself to noting the influence of Rousseau, William James, Nietzsche, Freud, and Sorel. (pp. 75-91) How about the impressions made on these trends by Pareto, Darwin, Sumner, Marx, and Reinhold Niebuhr?

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

University of Bridgeport

*La méthode relationnelle en psychologie sociale et en sociologie selon M. Léopold von Wiese.* By ERNEST STAUFFER. Neuchâtel and Paris: Delachaux and Niestlé S. A. (Actualités Pédagogiques et Psychologiques), 1950. 218 pp. 7 fr. 50 (suisses).

Few such thorough criticisms of the works of outstanding sociologists of our time are available in print. Ernest Stauffer, who holds a doctorate in social sciences in Switzerland, does a thorough job of describing and analyzing the writings of Leopold von Wiese, tracing the roots of Wiese's ideas in earlier writers, demonstrating his similarities and dissimilarities to comparable sociologists (especially Durkheim), examining how Wiese's theories worked out in concrete research, and criticizing the theories in terms of

relevance and fruitfulness. The author maintains a non-evaluative attitude until the last chapter, where he says—among other things—that scarcely anything in Wiese's writings is "constructive, original and properly sociological." (p. 208)

Wiese was the son of a Prussian officer who rebelled mildly against his narrow upbringing and developed into a professor of economics and sociology at the University of Cologne. He is perhaps best known for his editorship of the *Koelner Vierteljahrshefte fuer Sociologie*, which he suppressed (along with his research institute) during the Nazi period, and which is now revived as the *Koelner Zeitschrift fuer Soziologie*. Not only were many of Wiese's own ideas first expressed in this journal, but it also served as a medium for the publication of the researches of his students and other sociologists.

The heart of Wiese's sociology is his concern with the *relations* between individuals, and his belief that these were ultimately of two types—association and dissociation. Although a sociological nominalist (even believing that the group is a necessary evil and that the "natural" social state of man is in pairs), he is not a biological determinist. Rather he pursues *social* process, not biological or psychological process, with the former thought of as inter-individual in nature. Toennies apparently misunderstood Wiese in calling him psychologistic. From Spencer and Waxweiler, Wiese took his positivism and nominalism. From Tarde and Dupréel he borrowed his central concept of the social relationship. From Simmel he borrowed the method of searching for the abstract *form* of a social process, regardless of its content. From W. I. Thomas he copied the four wishes. As one might guess, Wiese was most consciously in opposition to Weber and Durkheim, although he has an interest like Weber's in the logical-deductive method and he assumed Durkheim to be much more a collectivist than the latter actually was. Wiese starts from the individual (the "personal I"), not the group; he concentrates on the present, not the past; he aims at abstract universal laws, not historical generalizations. Wiese is primarily interested in detecting and naming the "basic" social processes (all subtypes under association or separation) and in measuring the social distance between individuals. His research method (manifested mostly in the writings of students) consists largely of observing a family, a village, a community like the ghetto, and reducing everything he sees to these basic processes. He was interested in such facts as

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that a peasant had intimate contacts and yet was hostile to outsiders, and that a marriage contained both love and antagonism. Unlike Weber (or more currently, Parsons) he is not interested in social structure. This is why Stauffer considers Wiese to be a social psychologist.

Stauffer notes that Wiese has had little influence except on his immediate students (perhaps more in the United States—through Becker—than in Europe). Stauffer feels that Wiese's formalism led him to make sociology a kind of mathematical logic, which is empty. He also criticizes him for dogmatism, nihilism, and a kind of positivism conducive to totalitarianism. One other criticism of Wiese your reviewer would add: Wiese talks much of the need for science, measurement, the experimental method but the reader finds little of these in his research operations. Wiese is perhaps an extreme example of an unconscious tendency all too common among some sociologists—to generalize by verbal abstractions rather than by empirical observation and testing. Wiese did draw valuable empirical conclusions and insights, but these were quite independent of his theoretical system. Thus, for all his lip-service to science, he did not advance much beyond his own metaphysic.

ARNOLD M. ROSE

University of Minnesota

*Social Psychology: An Integrative Interpretation.* By S. STANSFELD SARGENT. New York: Ronald Press, 1950. x, 519 pp. \$4.50.

"Social Psychology deals with individual behavior as it affects and is affected by the behavior of others. It draws heavily on contributions from psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology, and psychiatry but its emphasis differs from each of these subjects." Therefore, the present book has been composed in order to acquaint students "with basic facts, principles and applications in the field." The first three parts are devoted to theory, the fourth to applications and utilization. The whole book is eminently readable, with short chapters, lists of supplementary readings, and general and special bibliographical references. There are excellent summaries throughout the text.

The book starts logically with the socialization of the individual, discusses culture and personality, social influences on personality, and theories of social learning. A moot, albeit terminological, point may be the author's assertion

that mores are more strongly enforced than conventions.

In the second part, Professor Sargent describes the dynamics of social behavior. He pays respectful but critical homage to the work of Freud and summarizes succinctly the labor of contemporary psychologists, particularly Muzaffer Sherif.

The third part stresses the patterning of the social behavior and the interaction of individuals. The author discusses extensively the concept of the social role, which he defines as "a pattern or type of social behavior which seems situationally appropriate to the individual in terms of the demands and expectations of those in his group." He recognizes that more research on roles is needed, but overlooks the possibilities of art-theory in this chapter, as well as in the whole book, even where he speaks of symbols and communications.

The fourth and last part of the book shows "significant and wide-spread manifestations of social behavior. The areas chosen are: public opinion, propaganda, mass behavior of various sorts, social change and social movements, prejudice, and industrial and international conflict." Each of these topics might be discussed in a multi-volume work; obviously, the treatment accorded and space allotted to each is sparse. Excellent annotated reading lists tend to make up for these natural shortcomings.

Nobody will expect an introductory text to present new insights. But if this reviewer were to teach a course in social psychology tomorrow, he would choose this text as an intelligent, clear, and concise exposition of this complex field.

JOSEPH H. BUNZEL

Pittsburgh, Pa.

*My Six Convicts: A Psychologist's Three Years in Fort Leavenworth.* By DONALD POWELL WILSON. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1951. 369 pp. \$3.50.

As the author strongly intimates in the preface, this book should be viewed primarily as entertainment and not, as the publishers claim, a "sound and constructive piece of scientific research." Wilson states that he has used "literary license" in the development of "some of the episodes." The dedication to "Co-authors and collaborators, without whom most books would not have been written—especially this one" suggests that much of the book may have been written by someone other than Wilson, and that this other person, or persons, may also have



used literary license here and there in touching up the manuscript for popular consumption.

Assuming that the book was written mostly for entertainment, and that it was not supposed to be taken too seriously or literally from the viewpoint of factual authenticity or scientific credibility, it accomplishes its purpose very well. It is good reading, dramatic and exciting. A possible criticism of it as entertainment is that it is too pat, too dramatic, to maintain the illusion of reality.

As a scientific document it leaves much to be desired. The reviewer has obtained opinions from two persons who were at the Annex of Fort Leavenworth Penitentiary at the same time as Wilson, one of them an inmate and a drug addict. Both agree that several of the most dramatic episodes related by the author may never have happened at all, and certainly did not happen at Leavenworth while Wilson was there.

In a sense the work is informative. The author makes many accurate and sensible observations about crime, drug addiction, prisons, political corruption, and so on. But sprinkled in with the sense there is also a great deal of nonsense, apparently thrown in, to add drama and local color. Thus along with sober, accurate statements about drug addicts, which debunk popular stereotypes, Wilson rather fancifully identifies the addict's reaction to intravenous injection with sexual orgasm, and interprets the habit as a passive substitute for active sex expression.

The theory of crime presented here is an inconsistent and rather amusing synthesis of popular psychiatric clichés. The cause of crime, we are told, is neuroticism—i.e. immaturity, inadequacy, and instability. Neuroticism is accounted for, Wilson suggests, largely in terms of sexual inadequacy. "A very large percent of all criminal and psychologically inferior personalities are under par sexually." (p. 247) What "par" is he does not say. This theory turns out to be much more than merely an explanation of crime. The author says that neuroticism may lead, not only to crime, but to drug addiction, alcoholism, insanity, suicide, hypochondria, prostitution, and chronic invalidism. (p. 114) Sexual inadequacy and neuroticism thus become something like universal causes for a large part of the ills of society.

The author gets into trouble with his own theory when he correctly observes that prisoners are criminals who have the misfortune of getting caught, and that they are probably not representative of the total criminal population. White-collar offenders and "smart operators" in

general, he says, are rarely found in prison. Although he has not studied the criminals who do not go to prison, he generalizes about them confidently anyway, as he does about many other matters that he has not investigated. The smart operators outside of prison are not "inadequate," says Wilson. The fact that they avoid prison appears to prove this to him in the absence of any other evidence. Nevertheless, they are declared to be neurotic like the prisoners in that they, too, are anti-social. This conclusion concerning a matter never investigated gives the whole show away and indicates that what Wilson does is to define anti-social behavior as a form of neuroticism and then assert that neuroticism is the cause of crime. His basic generalization about the cause of crime thus becomes a pointless tautology. Armed with it he does not need evidence, and research becomes superfluous, since the theory is true by definition.

It is unfortunate that many readers of this work, unable to separate fact from fancy, will assume that it is much more than a fictionalized account of prison life.

ALFRED R. LINDESMITH

*Indiana University*

*Grundriss der Bevölkerungswissenschaft: (Demographie).* By RODERICH V. UNGERN-STERNBERG and HERMANN SCHUBNELL. Stuttgart: Piscator-Verlag, 1950. vii, 602 pp. DM 42.00.

This stout volume is primarily a textbook of formal demography and the first major contribution to this field to come out of Germany for almost 25 years. The emphasis is definitely on German statistics and the book's main area of usefulness for American scholars may well be its function as a convenient introduction to these statistics, including some rather shocking reports on vital rates in the Soviet zone of occupation. The excursions of the authors into the fields of general sociology and economics will probably find less approval. These excursions tend to be rather naive, with a homely moralistic undertone that should appeal strongly to not a few German readers.

Study of this book suggests two general observations. The first is in reference to the progress of demography under the Nazi government. That regime, we were told, was greatly interested in population and one would naturally expect a significant increase in the quantity, if not the quality, of demographic work. Actually there was nothing of the kind. The most important German contribution to demography during the Nazi period was made by the *Statistisches*

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*Reichsamt* in 1935. At that time it published a replacement index for Germany, 1933, anticipating several, but not all, of the methodological advances introduced later by the Royal Commission on Population in the United Kingdom. The German index was based on a "normal" nuptiality of females (1910/11) and marital fertility rates specific for age and duration of marriage. This computation was made possible by the collection of the necessary basic information in the census of 1933 and in current vital statistics. Both apparently were planned prior to Hitler's accession to power. Some data on differential fertility were published in connection with the censuses of 1933 and 1939, but the available detail was quite limited in relation to the type of analysis that could have been undertaken, at least in 1933 before World War II restricted normal operations. Entirely new data on fetal mortality were collected from 1936 to 1940. The registration of abortions seems to have been much more complete than in other countries where it has been attempted, but no analysis of the material was published except for one city (Lübeck). The great program of sterilizing the "hereditarily unfit"—the most ambitious scheme of negative eugenics ever undertaken—has likewise remained undocumented and unstudied. As to non-governmental research in the field of demography, little of lasting value was accomplished, certainly much less than the general public awareness of population as an important issue should have produced.

The second general observation has to do with the continuing isolation of German scholarship from the rest of the world. It is truly amazing what Ungern-Sternberg and Schubnell do not know—or at least do not include in their book—about progress in the field of demographic research that has lately taken place in other countries. A typical example of this intellectual isolation is the list of periodicals on page 7 which includes not one of the three leading journals in the population field, one American, one French, and one British—listed in the order of first publication. The principal reasons for this continued isolation are obviously the sorry state of German university libraries, the meager funds available for the acquisition of new materials, and the difficulties encountered by Germans in travelling abroad to seek that invaluable stimulus: personal contact with foreign colleagues. This situation could and, in the opinion of this reviewer, should be corrected.

CHRISTOPHER TIETZE

U. S. Department of State

*Numerical Sex Disproportion: A Study in Demographic Determinism.* By JOSEPH H. GREENBERG. Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado Press, University of Colorado Studies, Series in Sociology, No. 2, 1950. v, 113 pp. \$1.50.

This study undertakes to determine how, in the aggregate, U. S. cities near the lower extreme of the sex-ratio continuum compare with those near the upper extreme as to size, geographic location, population composition, economic activity, crime, religion, and marriage—or more accurately, as to specific aspects of these things.

In an 'ideal typical' sense the lower extreme would appear to embrace the 168 U. S. cities with sex-ratios below 85; the upper, the 138 cities with sex-ratios of 115 and above, although deviation from these ranges is resorted to freely when limitations of available Census data or other considerations would appear to warrant it.

The comparative method is predominant throughout the study. For example, in the table which constitutes the backbone of the discussion on the relationship between sex-ratio and crime, the various categories of crimes (robbery, murder, etc.) are listed on the vertical tab, while the horizontal tab indicates sex-ratio intervals near each extreme of the continuum and an additional "control" column for "all cities" (of populations in excess of 25,000, in this particular case). The cells contain the type-specific crime rates per 100,000 population for aggregates of cities within the specified sex-ratio ranges. Thus from the fact of relatively high burglary rates in the two low sex-ratio intervals indicated in the table, as compared with the distinctly lower rates in the two high sex-ratio intervals, the author is able to infer that, "Burglary appears especially common where women abound." Inferences of this kind are subsequently evaluated in a 'qualitative' context—a rather standard procedure in population study.

Characteristic of other conclusions arrived at by the same general method are the following: "sex ratio illustrates no consistent, clear-cut relationship with community size"; "American cities of heavy male surplus are clustered in the West and North"; "communities of male surplus contain unusually large proportions of foreign-born whites and 'other races'"; etc.

The author conceives the study to have practical importance relative to an anticipated decrease in the sex-ratio "as we enter the Atomic Age." By his own statement, "detailed statistical

analysis and refinement of data are beyond the scope of an extensive exploratory study of this sort."

The boundary which separates the "right" of critics to pass judgment on what the research objectives of others should be, on the one hand, and the area of infringement of academic freedom, on the other hand, is so indeterminate that no enumeration of what the author has "neglected to do" will be attempted here. However, the present review would be seriously deficient if it omitted the factual observation that simultaneous control of sets of variables of known relevance was not attempted. Thus, there was, for instance, nothing to indicate whether the observed relationships between sex-ratio and region and between sex-ratio and nativity distribution were essentially the same or different phenomena. It should also be noted that when the author undertakes to criticize the findings of other investigators his position is effectively weakened by his own omission from consideration of the middle-range sex-ratio cities. Some discussion of the rationale behind a comparison of extremes of a continuum would have been welcomed by this reviewer.

The author shows a commendable sincerity throughout the study—"weasel words" and other devices designed to misrepresent the implications of the data are conspicuously absent. Likewise meriting praise is the author's courageous willingness to experiment with method.

Some readers might object to the defensively aggressive and somewhat carping criticisms the author directs at other investigators, but this reviewer is willing to write these off as epiphenomena of the mental anguish which normally accompanies the production of a Ph.D. thesis. Basically, we feel that Mr. Greenberg's "pioneer" tendencies should be given every encouragement.

ALBERT PIERCE

*University of California at Berkeley*

*The Distribution of Occupations as a City Yardstick.* By PAUL BATES GILLEN. New York: King's Crown Press, 1951. xiii, 144 pp. \$2.75.

This study takes Thorndike's G-score as a point of departure and aims at the development of a simple measure to reflect accurately the "goodness" of a city. The score is a sum of the deviations of the occupational distribution of a city (using a modification of the census classi-

fication for this purpose) from all cities of its size group category, times a weighting based on average income for each occupational group. The validating variables selected are dwelling units and race. Not surprisingly, all these are found to be related to occupational score. As a consequence of this and of the fact that present city classifications do not satisfactorily relate to these variables, it is suggested that the occupational yardstick provides a superior classification of cities.

A major weakness of the volume is its absence of ecological sophistication. Of the sixty low-scoring cities, for example, fifty-four are in the south. A measure which reflects regional values so clearly does not constitute an adequate yardstick. Furthermore many of the cities, scoring both high and low on the scale are not complete cities; that is, they are parts of metropolitan areas. It would seem necessary either to break all cities up into some such units as census tracts or else include all metropolitan regions as one unit. The first procedure would merely repeat the well-known ecological principle that "good things are found together" and the second would vastly change the deviations upon which the score is based.

Another weakness is the fact that size of city is so rigorously controlled as to yield no possibility of examining the effect of the variable except within very narrow limits.

The most fundamental problem in this analysis, however, is its basic acceptance of the idea that "good people with money make a city good." There is no attempt to grapple with the question: "Good for whom?" Thus a city with many service workers which may make life good for some people, though perhaps not for others, would score below an otherwise similar city with fewer service workers. And who, indeed, is to say that a small town, largely composed of operatives and laborers, is necessarily not a good place for operatives and laborers to live?

All in all the yardstick seems more to be a measure of diversification such that diversified cities (all of the largest ones) fall in the middle of the scale, while certain previously determined specialized types of small cities (suburbs, university towns, capitols, etc.) are rated superior, and still other previously determined small cities (industrial towns) fall at the bottom of the scale.

PAUL K. HATT

*Northwestern University*

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## BOOK NOTES

*The Prodigal Century.* By HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950. xvii, 258 pp. \$3.75.

Professor Fairchild states that the simultaneous opening of new lands and the discovery of revolutionary processes to exploit these lands was the key to the opportunity for peace, plenty and freedom offered mankind in the Nineteenth Century. Man's inability to accept this opportunity is attributed to his tendency to overpopulate, and to his ties to an outmoded value system. The author maintains that we behave toward such Nineteenth Century concepts as the desirability of competition, bigness and rugged individuality as if they pointed the way to prosperity, peace and democracy.

The solution offered to the gloomy prospect of overpopulation, depression, waste and war is to rid ourselves of these self-destroying values, adopt birth control measures, and accept some form of collectivism. While Fairchild does not insist on collectivism, he does vigorously urge that we actively and rationally, with the aid of science, seek a way for the United States, as a favored nation, to save what remains of our opportunity.

This popularly written, controversial volume contains a multitude of interesting anecdotes, suggestive ideas, and basic principles. Of particular interest to the sociologist is the synthesis of a portion of Fairchild's thinking in the fields of population, economics, and social conflict.—ERWIN O. SMIGEL

*Problems of Development of Densely Settled Areas, and Scientific Possibilities For Increasing the World's Food Supply.* Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 95, No. 1, February 13, 1951). 91 pp. \$1.00.

The eight papers in this noteworthy volume of the *Proceedings* were originally read before two meetings of the American Philosophical Society in 1950. The April session, which dealt with broad demographic, economic, and social problems in a global setting, heard rather general statements on "Population Trends in Densely Populated Areas" by Alva Myrdal, and "Farmers in a Hungry World" by Howard R. Tolley.

More detailed discussion of the processes of modernization and growth of underdeveloped areas was provided by Joseph J. Spengler's "Economic Factors in the Development of Densely Populated Areas" and Kingsley Davis's "Population and the Further Spread of Industrial Society." The latter paper, containing one of the clearest statements of the necessity for and the inevitability of the great transformation "from illiterate agriculturalism to literate industrialism," is an especially valuable summary of a world revolution caught in midpassage.

The October meeting was devoted to four interesting reports—by a biologist, a chemist, an ichthyologist, and an agronomist—on possible technological measures for increasing the quantities of the world's foodstuffs. Several possibilities are recognized to exist, although economic and cultural barriers in the way of their present exploitation are not ignored. While this latter half of the volume is more technical and specific than the first, it is a natural accompaniment to the wider sociological problems raised earlier. As a whole these papers provide a valuable source of collateral reading for students of world demography, culture contacts, and social change.—S. W. REED

*Report on the Chinese in Southeast Asia.* By G. WILLIAM SKINNER. Ithaca, N. Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Department of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University, 1950. v, 91 pp.

A summary statement of data gathered during a rapid field survey by the author in the latter part of 1950, this report admirably complements Purcell's *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, reviewed elsewhere in this issue. In contrast to the historical emphasis of the latter, Skinner's study deals exclusively with the current situation. For his information the author relied heavily on Chinese informants—businessmen, newspapermen, educators, and political leaders; published accounts were used, especially for population figures, but these constituted a relatively minor source of information.

The areas treated include Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Burma, Singapore, the Federation of Malaya, Sarawak, North Borneo, Indonesia, and the Philippines; and the following topics are covered within each area: population, occupa-

tion and business, regional and other organizations, education, the press, the political situation, relations with local peoples and governments, research materials and facilities (with respect to Chinese communities). In addition, excellent summaries for the region as a whole give information on the Chinese population, Chinese Communist policy and the policies of indigenous governments toward the overseas Chinese, and Chinese public opinion in South-east Asia. This is a superior kind of factual summary of research. As such it will be an invaluable reference for all who wish to understand the present status of the Chinese in South-east Asia. While not a commercial publication, and although the original supply of copies has been exhausted, there is a possibility of an additional run this summer.—RICHARD J. COUGHLIN.

*Latin America* (Revised Edition). By PRESTON E. JAMES. New York: The Odyssey Press, Inc., 1950. xvi, 848 pp. \$6.00.

The revisions in this excellent text originally published in 1942 are not extensive. They consist primarily of (1) changing the listings of total population, major exports, etc., which appear on a fly-leaf preceding the discussion of each country—population estimates for 1950 and the latest data on birth rates and death rates are given; (2) substitution of the revised figures for the old ones in the text; (3) a slight expansion of the sections on Argentina and Mexico to include some of the conclusions of recent studies in those countries by sociologists; and (4) a revision of the General Conclusion to take account of expanding industrialization and its concomitants and the place of Latin America in the present world situation.

A new feature is the inclusion of a package containing eight folded maps inside the back cover, four of South America and four of Central America. These should be useful in locating the position of the smaller regional maps appearing in the text.

Since the work is concerned primarily with the geographical distribution of population, perhaps one should not expect the revisions to be very drastic. The book remains the most comprehensive work available on Latin America as a whole and contains much useful information for the general reader. Incidentally, it is heartening to find that a book of this size, containing 153 maps and 64 pages of photographs, is still available for only six dollars.—N. L. WHETTEN

*The Human Community*. By BAKER BROWNELL. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950. vi, 305 pp. \$4.00.

Social scientists who may be attracted by the title of this volume are bound to be disappointed, for it adds virtually nothing to an objective understanding of the human community. Despite implications on the dust jacket to the contrary, it consists essentially of the author's own philosophy of primary group life; and while one cannot question his sincerity nor deny that many may find his views interesting, the result is not science. The theme is a familiar one. During the last half century the world has been going to pieces at a merry clip as evidenced by two world wars, two major periods of inflation, several regional and one world famine, decay of the family, and declining birth rates in Western civilization. Although Brownell does not claim to know all of the reasons for these disasters, he is certain that the centralization of authority and the decline of the human community are among the most important. Since "harmony" is realizable only in the "true" community (i.e. the small, rural village), urbanization and industrialization are evil forces. Our salvation in this time of crisis, therefore, can be found only in a "reorientation toward the human community." What program the author would advocate in order to achieve this reorientation is not entirely clear, but it would seem to involve a return to "the good old days" of large families, primary groups, and rural villages.—JEROME K. MYERS

*The Hebrew Impact on Western Civilization*. Edited by DAGOBERT D. RUNES. New York: Philosophical Library, 1951. xiv, 922 pp. \$10.00.

This latest example of Jewish apologetics is replete with the limitations characteristic of the field: the usual preface stating that if Jewish contributions were adequately understood Gentiles might accord better treatment to the Jews; and the typical chapters on Jews in such fields as the physical sciences, medicine, literature, journalism, music, the drama, and public life. The long lists of names are all here, together with frequent misspellings, cases of mistaken identity, and incorrect dates. The work is not a product of deep scholarship. There are, however, a number of innovations of interest: a chapter by the late L. L. Bernard on "Jewish Sociologists and Political Scientists"; one by the histor-

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ian Cecil Roth evaluating Jewish cultural influences during the Middle Ages; and Hugo Bieber's "The Jewish Contribution to the Exploration of the Globe."

Volumes of this kind are mainly of interest because they unconsciously reveal the state of mind of the minority group in whose behalf they are written. They are an index of the degree of subordination and the intensity of the desire to attain first-class citizenship. Many of the ideas underlying anti-defamation activities can be observed in this book: superpatriotism, the desire for acceptance, the wish to publicize the Jewish "record," the faith in rationality and liberal culture, and the belief that countries which treat their Jewish population decently will prosper.

Sociologists understanding the motivation behind the publication of such a volume will surely use the material circumspectly. There is no serious attempt here to weigh the influence of Jews and Judaism on Western culture. Contributions of Jewish thinkers, artists, and scientists are taken out of context—it is their "contributions" that count, and the more Nobel Prizes the better. No serious attempt is made to account for the great efflorescence of Jewish intellectual contributions in the last few centuries. The assessment of the Hebrew impact on Western civilization still remains to be written.—MARSHALL SKLARE

*Agenda for American Jews.* By ELI GINZBERG. New York: King's Crown Press, 1950. x, 90 pp. \$2.00.

Professor Ginzberg, the prominent Columbia University economist, here raises questions about the status of American Jewish life. He believes that "the social sciences can make an important, if limited, contribution to the effective solution of the complex problems that confront American Jews." The author emphasizes that in spite of diversities, American Jews have some core values. He reviews communal developments and discusses the implications of the Jewish philanthropic pattern. Problems in connection with the relationship of the Jewish community and the State of Israel are outlined. The effects of anti-Semitism and the Jewish response thereto is another subject of discussion.

Although the book may satisfy students who seek the briefest possible statement of some of the questions now being discussed in the American Jewish community, it is not a substantial contribution to that discussion. The various books by Dr. Mordecai M. Kaplan and Rabbi

Milton Steinberg, as well as the publications of the Reconstructionist Movement, are more helpful than the present work. While the author's comments in regard to fund-raising and the disposition of Jewish "public" funds are interesting (he has had valuable research experience in this area), many of his remarks are on the level of a non-professional student of Jewish problems. There also is a bias in favor of the "learned" Jew. Jewish communal life, he believes, will be immeasurably improved if a new leadership well-schooled in Jewish history, religion, and culture will take the helm. Jewish experience in Europe would seem to indicate, however, that during periods of change such leaders have often been an obstacle to progress, for they have generally represented a conservative or reactionary approach to Jewish problems. Also, not all social scientists will share the author's faith in rational discussion as *the* means of problem-solving and in the diffusion of knowledge as a primary agency of social change.—MARSHALL SKLARE

*The Social Function of Art.* By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. Bombay, India: Hind Kitabs Ltd. (Lucknow University Studies), 1948. xviii, 355, xiv pp. Rs. 25.

This book by the well-known sociologist and economist purports to be "the scientific foundation of a comparative sociology of art," revealing "the organic place, functions and meanings of art in society." Freudian, Jungian, and other psychological concepts are utilized to explain artistic developments at all times and in many places. Each true work of art is a revelation of the attitudes and values of a particular culture and social milieu and adds its characteristic contribution to humanity's heritage; great art of the past immortalizes the collective values and visions of historical cultures and illustrates the essential oneness of mankind. Art, moreover, is neither isolated nor incidental to life in society; it provides the social myths, symbols, and images by which men live, survive, and die.

The book can be criticized for its frequently superficial acceptance of Marxian and Jungian views, its random collection of materials, and its dogmatic judgments. Sociologists in the United States are poorly equipped to criticize the entire work, however, for they have paid but scant attention to the arts and their sociological significance and have produced nothing of stature in this field. Perhaps this book will encourage our more timid scholars and their supporters



to undertake research toward a genuine sociology of art.—JOSEPH H. BUNZEL

*Colour and Class in Six Liverpool Schools.* By LEO SILBERMAN and BETTY SPICE (Edited by DENNIS CHAPMAN). Liverpool: The University Press of Liverpool, 1950. 67 pp. 5s.

This is an interesting attempt to discover the existence of racial attitudes among 1,043 school children of different racial origin—whites, Chinese, "other coloureds": African, West Indian, Arab, Malay, Burmese, and Indian—in two working-class districts of mixed population in Liverpool. There were 187 "coloureds" to 861 whites, the coloured group having been mainly mixed-bloods of native white mothers. Specifically, "the research was designed to discover the extent to which friendship and antipathy was related to colour." The condition of the children's clothing, graded from superior quality to inadequate, was taken as an index of their social-class position.

Two types of tests were developed: the friendship and the rejection test. These permitted the children, through votes, letters, and greetings, to choose their friends and "enemies" in such a way that the results could be statistically analyzed.

It is recognized that the research is exploratory and the hypotheses tentative; opportunities for improving and refining future studies are frequently pointed out. Outstanding conclusions are, however, that "white children did not discriminate against coloured children in choosing friends, and similarly, that coloured children did not discriminate against white children." But children of superior status did discriminate against inferiors. The study should be more meaningful if we knew something about racial conditioning of the children in the family.—OLIVER C. COX

*Joint Consultation in a Liverpool Manufacturing Firm: A Case Study in Human Relations in Industry.* By W. H. SCOTT. Liverpool: The University Press of Liverpool, 1950. vi, 81 pp. 2s.6d.

Both this report and the one noted immediately below are worth the attention of persons interested in promoting collaboration between management and employees. Both deal with committees designed to draw upon the intellectual resources of managers and workers and to encourage morale through joint participation in matters of mutual interest other than those

ordinarily covered by collective bargaining. This Liverpool study is, perhaps, of more direct sociological value. The comments on method, including the view that research of this kind is handicapped whenever it envisions no more than diagnosis, are particularly interesting. The author holds, as do other English social scientists, that "research and therapy are inseparable." One is inclined to agree with Scott that the success which accompanied his method may transcend the significance of his specific findings, although the latter are not lacking in descriptive value.—JOHN S. ELLSWORTH, JR.

*Greater Productivity through Labor-Management Cooperation: Analysis of Company and Union Experience.* By ERNEST DALE. New York: American Management Association, 1950. 197 pp. \$5.00.

Dale's orientation is plainly suggested by his title. The book summarizes 263 replies to a questionnaire addressed to 1,000 companies, names of which were drawn mainly from the files of the War Production Drive headquarters in Washington. These findings were supplemented by visits to 40 companies to interview managements, unions, and employees, to attend meetings of labor-management committees, and to study records. It should perhaps be noted that Dale's work at Columbia, Yale, and in England provides him with a broader background than his affiliation with the American Management Association might suggest to those who are not familiar with that organization's positive interest in social science.—JOHN S. ELLSWORTH, JR.

*Economic Resources and Policies of the South.* By CALVIN B. HOOVER and B. U. RATCHFORD. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951. xxviii, 464 pp. \$5.50.

Sociologists will use this book principally as a reference source for detailed and timely economic data on the South. There is no introductory or summary chapter, nor is the analysis pushed into the sociological realm at any point. The compilation and analysis of data appear to be competent, and the intermittent discussions of policy are balanced. Present trends are toward greater industrialization in the South, and a good economic case is made for a pro-industrialization policy. Sociologists will be watching for the "byproducts" and the "unanticipated consequences."—OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN

*The Folklore of Sex.* By ALBERT ELLIS. New York: Charles Boni, 1951. 313 pp. \$5.00.

To establish the contemporary American attitudes toward sex, Ellis searched through a large volume of mass media which was in circulation on or about a single selected day, in this case January 1, 1950. These media included fictional and non-fictional best-sellers, periodicals of many types, selected newspapers, radio and television scripts, movie scripts, popular songs and plays, from which he culled all references to sex, love, and marriage. These he has strung together in this anecdotal and aggressively popular volume. Sex jokes, excerpts from novels, snatches of stage dialogue are reported and commented upon in numerous short chapters organized according to type of sex behavior. He has a summary tabulation of American sex attitudes according to their number and character in the various sources in which he found them. There is no more sophistication in his work method than this, although he strains after a scientific effect. The matter of taste is probably irrelevant in such a study, but wit might have salvaged something for it. Many of Ellis's conclusions, attesting to the contradictory and ambiguous character of our sex attitudes, which both he and most readers of course recognized long before this book appeared, seem to represent much more his personal conjectures than the result of this specific investigation.—JOHN SIRJAMAKI

*Church Lobbying in the Nation's Capital.* By LUKE EBERSOLE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951. x, 195 pp. \$2.75.

This is an informative, simply-written, and factual account of recent Protestant, Catholic, and "special-cause" efforts to influence legislation, administration, and public opinion in Washington. Data are carefully marshalled, and conclusions cautiously stated. An obvious effort is made throughout to appear impartial and objective, even to the point of occasionally leaning over backwards. Despite these "scientific" virtues, the story lives and proves interesting as well as instructive to the reader concerned with religion in relation to social order.

Records of congressional committee hearings and statements of the lobbyists themselves show that church lobbying is a developing institution with specialized agencies representing denominational and inter-denominational church bodies before the Federal government. The various organizations participating, the methods of lobby-

ing, and the special interests or "causes" calling forth these efforts are outlined. Social factors contributing to this "significant change and expansion" are briefly listed as: a growing interest in "social action" as an aspect of religion; wartime needs for close contact with government in providing services to members; the stimulus of denominational competition; and the desire of Protestant groups to check the political influence which they believe the Catholic Church is gaining. Thus the book stands as a clearcut, though modest, refutation of the pontifical assertion by one informant that "The Churches have no lobby in Washington."—LEWIS TROYER

*The Oxford Group: Its History and Significance.* By WALTER HOUSTON CLARK. New York: Bookman Associates, 1951. 268 pp. \$3.50.

This book comprises two distinct parts: (1) an historical account of the Oxford Group movement which shows how it emerged as an American movement under the leadership of an American on college campuses in this country; and (2) a series of brief "case studies"—55 in all—based upon answers to a questionnaire circulated in the early 1940s among persons who had previously been active for an average of ten years or more in the movement. Questionnaire items were designed, as the author explains, to determine whether the "effects" of experience in the movement had been beneficial or otherwise on the attitudes of participants toward sex, organized religion, etc.

As an historian of the movement, Dr. Clark writes authoritatively and well. He is especially well informed about the earlier phases of the movement—i.e. before 1932, when most of the respondents to his questionnaire were active—although he traces the movement up to the present. His treatment of data from the questionnaires is, however, somewhat too facile for social scientific purposes; and it is probable that he has put too much reliance on responses concerning experiences ten or more years prior to the time of the investigation. It might also be doubted whether informants themselves could adequately report what Group influences on their attitudes and personalities had been.

The basic weakness in this study as a contribution to sociology is that the author is less interested in problems of the general type of movement and group than he is to *evaluate* it in terms of its presumed effects on the social order,

and especially on the personalities and attitudes of participants in it.—ALLAN W. EISTER.

*Social Work Yearbook: 1951.* Edited by MARGARET B. HODGES. New York: American Association of Social Workers, 1951. 696 pp. \$5.00.

The *Social Work Yearbook: 1951*, the first to be published by the American Association of Social Workers, follows the same general pattern of the consistently excellent former ten editions published by the Russell Sage Foundation beginning with 1929. This one, like its predecessors, is independent of the others and may thus be consulted without the necessity of referring to earlier issues.

Part One of the 1951 edition contains seventy-three topical articles written by competent authorities on subjects covering the more important welfare services and programs. To each article is appended a list of selected references: in all, a total of 1,208 books and pamphlets and 658 articles in periodicals, making this the most complete and up-to-date bibliography of social work literature currently available. Major developments occurring since the publication of the 1949 edition are carefully noted and discussed.

Part Two constitutes a four-fold directory of agencies, listing 23 voluntary and official international agencies; 65 governmental and 442 voluntary bodies located in the United States; and 39 Canadian official and private agencies.

Not the least admirable feature of this useful volume is the 24-page index, which is not comprehensive, but is, nevertheless, most useful. It contains in alphabetical order the titles of all topical articles including lists of related agencies and cross references.

This volume constitutes an up-to-date encyclopaedia of social work indispensable to all libraries, welfare agencies and workers, and social scientists interested in the field of social work.—CHARLES G. CHAKERIAN

*The Social Welfare Forum: 1950. Official Proceedings of the 77th Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. xvii, 346 pp. \$4.75.

*Social Work in the Current Scene: 1950. Selected Papers of the 77th Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. x, 390 pp. \$4.75.

The Proceedings of the 1950 National Conference of Social Work appear this year, as they did last, in two volumes. The *Social Welfare Forum: 1950* contains the papers delivered at the General Sessions. In addition, five papers from the section meetings were included in this first volume in order to equalize the length of the two books. It also presents a very adequate 50,000-word summary of the Conference sessions, including those of the Associate groups, written by Marion Robinson.

*Social Work in the Current Scene: 1950* reproduces 34 papers presented at section meetings. In making its final selection, the editorial committee, chaired by Cora Kasius, endeavored to include a wide variety of opinions, and, in controversial areas, insisted on including papers covering divergent views. Two such papers, for example, deal with aspects of functional and diagnostic practices in social case work. They go a long ways to provide a clear and an authentic base for the study and comparison of these two case work philosophies.

Books such as these inevitably include articles of unequal worth. And this shortcoming applies very definitely to these two volumes. Ail in all, however, they do succeed in presenting the broad outlines of recent developments. Amidst the large number of changes, two trends stand out clearly: the growth of cooperative community endeavor, and increasing attempts at multi-disciplinary approaches to welfare problems.—CHARLES G. CHAKERIAN

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